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# Southeast Asia Report

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TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 12, December 1982

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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TAP CHI CONG SAN No. 12, Dec 1982

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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CONSTANTLY STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM AND FIRMLY DEFENDING THE  
SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 1-4, 24

[Editorial]

[Text] Having founded the country on land that occupies a very important strategic position in Southeast Asia, land that lies at the strategic intersection of East-West and North-South ocean routes and routes from the mainland to the sea, land that is located adjacent to the territory of traditional expansionist powers whose forces were many times larger than theirs, our forefathers recognized the fatherland's need to be "strong in order to endure the winds" at a very early date and always coordinated building the country with defending the country.

"When the enemy invades, even the women fight"; this resolve, which has become a traditional ethical value of Vietnamese society, reflects the unyielding spirit of our entire nation, a spirit which President Ho pointed out at an early date is an invincible strength: "It forms a very powerful, large wave that rolls over every peril and difficulty and drowns all traitors and country-robbers."(1)

In the new age, the victories that have been won by the Vietnamese revolution have led to the establishment of the first dictatorship of the proletariat government in Southeast Asia, the defeat of aggressors who have been the embodiment of old style colonialism and neo-colonialism and the advance by our nation directly to socialism.

The people of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea have united closely with our people on the same battle line.

In this period, important events such as those mentioned above inevitably place new challenges before our entire nation. Together with the revolutionary and peace forces of the world, we are determined to defeat the counter-attack by imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, for the sake of peace, national independence and socialism, determined to defeat the scheme of annexation of Chinese chauvinism for the sake of national independence, peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia. As V.I. Lenin said about the

proletarian revolution in Russia: "More than any other revolution, our revolution has clearly proven this law: the forces of a revolution, its offensive power, its energy, resolve and victories stiffen the resistance by the bourgeoisie."(2)

Through this argument, Lenin revealed something that is in the nature of a law: as the offensive power of the revolution increases and its victories grow, the reaction by the enemy becomes increasingly fierce. Lenin had harsh criticism for communists who did not consider protecting socialism "to be the same as protecting the fatherland" and who thought they could "sleep on the pillow of peace" once the revolution had won victory.

Since the Vietnam war, the weakness of the imperialists and reactionaries and their insane reactions have led to an historic inevitability: the forces representing the three revolutionary currents in this region have had to contend with and win victory over wars of aggression launched by traitorous and reactionary powers within the region.

Having long seen a formidable adversary in the Vietnamese revolution, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles looked for every way to limit the victory won by our people and schemed to permanently divide our country and keep us in a position of "being neither weak nor strong." Then, they openly waged wars of aggression against our country from two directions: the southwest and the north. They were defeated by our people.

The multi-faceted war of sabotage that is being waged by the Chinese reactionaries against the countries of Indochina in collusion with the warmongering imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, to "draw blood" is a continuation of these strategic calculations. On the one hand, this war reflects their familiar, malicious scheme of "undermining the dikes"; on the other hand, it reflects their predisposition to "bite off more than they can chew." The logic compelling them is to "handle snakes carefully."

Of course, we cannot automatically conclude that as long as they have not squeezed us tightly, they will not try to gobble us up. This is because any evaluation of "soft" or "hard" depends upon the viewpoint and method of evaluation employed by each side. Secondly, it is because the "contenders to the throne" within Beijing's reactionary ruling circles frequently resort to foreign policy sleigh of hand to resolve internal antagonisms.

Finding themselves in an isolated and weak position, the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles have, at times, been forced to change their tactics and talk less aggressively. The 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which is monopolized by Deng, is trying to give the impression that turning points have been reached in the domestic and foreign policies of the leadership in Beijing. However, the nature of Chinese expansionism and hegemony and their scheme to weaken and eventually annex the countries of Indochina have not changed at all.

In view of the fact that the bellicose U.S. imperialists are howling about rewinning military superiority in the world and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists right next door to us have prepared forces and battle positions,

prepared plans for going into battle and routinely engage in acts of provocation and acts of encroachment and occupation from the outside while looking for every way to use our internal weaknesses to their advantage and rally and provoke domestic reactionaries under a plan for "insurrection from within and attacks from the outside," we must be extremely vigilant, be determined to defeat the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy and urgently make every necessary preparation for the dealing with a large-scale war of aggression.

In the new stage of our country's revolution, in conjunction with building the country, our party considers strengthening the national defense system to be a basic, constant and long-range task of the entire party and all our people. The national defense system must be built to the point where it is strong enough to defeat every war of aggression unleashed by the imperialists and reactionaries and insure the safety of the people as they build the country. Conversely, only by building an increasingly prosperous and strong country is it possible to lay a firm foundation for a permanently strong national defense system, possible to possess the strength needed to win victory over each war of aggression and possible to firmly protect socialist construction throughout the country.

One basic viewpoint in our party's line on defending the fatherland is that of closely linking the national defense system to the people's war to defend the fatherland, to the maintenance of political security and social order and safety. On the one hand, the national defense system, the nucleus of which is the people's armed forces, must always be in a state of readiness to victoriously deal with a war of aggression at any time and by any enemy. It must be ready in terms of battle position and forces, in terms of will, thinking and defense plans. Once we are always ready in every respect, we can take the initiative and not be put into a disadvantageous position as a result of the enemy engaging in acts of provocation or creating tensions in a vain attempt to tire and weaken us. On the other hand, the building of the national defense system must be closely linked to the maintenance of political security and social order and safety. The people's armed forces must work with the entire party and all the people in a determined effort to suppress domestic reactionaries and persons who intentionally create disorder and maintain political security and social order and safety, considering this to be not only the task of the people's public security sector, but also the task of all the people, of all the armed forces, with the people's public security force serving as the nucleus. The people's armed forces must first join the entire party and all the people in defeating the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy, defeating their economic embargo, their disruption of the market, their psychological war and their spy war. The enemy is intentionally using the war of sabotage to prepare the conditions, to prepare the base for a large-scale war of aggression. Only by being determined to truly defeat the enemy's war of sabotage can we protect the production and the daily lives of our people, build a strong and solid economic, political and social base for the national defense system and build a strong, solid and safe rear area for a people's war to defend the fatherland.

In view of the fact that both strategic tasks, building the country and defending the country, are pressing tasks, the requirement of strategic

significance in the new stage is that we must rapidly make the country strong in every respect, make it strong economically, politically, militarily and culturally, strong in terms of science and technology. In order for our entire nation to overcome the difficulties being faced in production and everyday life in the initial stage of the period of transition, we must develop and make good use of existing potential of the country and the people and make the most efficient use possible of all aid from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, from the countries of the world that are our friends in order to produce more and more material and spiritual wealth for society. Our national defense system must be based on the strength of all our people, on the strength of the entire socialist system that is now being built within our country through the political, economic, cultural and scientific-technical achievements of the system itself. This strength is the combined strength of our entire nation in the new era, is a strength that is closely linked to the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times. During the very first days of the war of resistance, in June, 1947, President Ho advised when talking about defending the country by means of the strength of all the people: "The oneness of our compatriots has become a brass wall around the fatherland. Any enemy, regardless of how cruel or cunning they might be, that runs into this wall will be defeated."(3)

In order to record large achievements in every area, we must thoroughly strengthen the system of collective ownership of the laboring people in every area because it is both the goal and the moving force of the socialist revolution in our country. Only by truly upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in every field of endeavor in the work of building the country is it possible to uphold the people's right of ownership in the field of defending the fatherland.

The comprehensive solidarity and cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union and with the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, our solidarity and cooperation with the other socialist countries, the wholehearted support of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world and so forth, these are extremely important factors in the creation of this tremendous strength.

In accordance with the people's war viewpoint and the viewpoint concerning the defense of the nation by all the people, we must build armed forces that consist of strong main force units and strong units of the local army in order to insure that we have mobile forces capable of dealing decisive blows to the enemy when the opportunity arises and stationary forces that firmly control the locality and launch strong, widespread attacks against the enemy wherever they might be.

There must be balance and coordination between standing forces and reserve forces so that we can take the initiative in dealing with every situation: when not at war and when the enemy suddenly launches a large-scale war of aggression. The organization, management and training of reserve forces must be put on a regular basis so that they are ready to supplement the standing forces when necessary.

The people's army must be strengthened in terms of its revolutionary nature, its organization, command, management and so forth in order to constantly improve its regular force and modern nature in a manner consistent with the requirements of the task of defending the fatherland in the new stage.

The armed forces must maintain and make very good use of their technical equipment, considering this equipment to be property of the country that has been turned over to troops in order to fight the enemy and defend the country. The armed forces must always know precisely who the enemy is; commanders and soldiers must be closely united, must be in a high state of combat readiness, must complete each assigned task well, must be worthy of being the reliable tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the cause of protecting the system, protecting the fruits of the revolution and protecting the creative labor of the people and must excellently fulfill their international obligation.

The armed forces that serve as the nucleus of the fight waged by all the people against the enemy must regularly be trained, supported and cared for in a detailed, meticulous manner within the scope of the capabilities of the people.

Caring for the material and spiritual lives of troops better and implementing the policies regarding the families of war dead, war invalids and discharged military personnel well are practical ways to encourage everyone to fulfill the military obligation well.

We must constantly concern ourselves with strengthening the flesh and blood relationship between the army and the people, uphold the tradition of "the army and the people being like fish and the water" and overcome violations of the policy and discipline concerning the masses.

Protecting the fatherland is the honor and the obligation of all the people, is a precious tradition of our entire nation. It is necessary to widely teach this honor, obligation and tradition among the people and youths and overcome the tendency to pursue only one's private life while neglecting common obligations.

"The Hung Kings performed the service of founding the country,  
We must make every effort to defend it."(4)

Now, more than ever before, these profound words of advice spoken by President Ho are reminding us to be concerned with building a strong and solid national defense system in our work of building and defending the fatherland. As is the case with the people's war, the defense of the nation is the work of the entire party, the entire army, all the people, the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system. It must truly be organized and led in a detailed and close manner by the various party committee echelons, from the central to the basic levels.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "On Military Matters," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 185.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 572.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 419.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume 1, p 620.

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## A GREAT FESTIVAL OF ALL PROGRESSIVE MANKIND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 5-10

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On 30 December 1982, the people of the fraternal Soviet Union and all progressive mankind solemnly commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one of the greatest achievements of the October Revolution. During these days, a patriotic labor movement is surging throughout the vast land of the Soviet Union for the purpose of reaching new pinnacles in communist construction, as pointed out by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. In harmony with the people of the fraternal Soviet Union, the people of Vietnam are also celebrating this great festival by means of new achievements in their work of building the country and in the fight to defend the socialist fatherland. The Political Bureau of our Party Central Committee issued a resolution on organizing the commemoration of this great festival with a view toward emphasizing "the tremendous historic significance of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the brilliant achievement of Marxism-Leninism and the Leninist nationalities policy of the Soviet party and state, the achievements of the Soviet people,...the valuable experiences and the examples of selfless behavior in combat and labor set by the Soviet people and the peace-loving foreign policy of the party and state of the Soviet Union" "in coordination with gaining a thorough understanding of and implementing the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress..., heightening the confidence of our people in the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state, strengthening our friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries...and strengthening our militant solidarity with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world..."

The process of unification and development of the Soviet nationalities has been the process of implementing the nationalities policy set forth by Lenin. The principles of this policy were first implemented in multi-national Russia (the Russian Federation); their application was later expanded and led to the birth of a host of independent republics. On 30 December 1922, the 1st Congress of Soviets of the USSR, which consisted of delegates from the four federated republics of Russia, the Ukrain, the Caucasus (consisting of Azerbaydzhan, Armenia and Gruzia) and Belorussia, ratified the Declaration and



the Agreement on the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union). In his speech closing the congress, the head of the state, M.I. Kalinin, said: "For thousands of years, the outstanding intellects of mankind have constantly given thought to the theoretical problem of discovering forms of organization that make it possible for all nationalities to live in friendship and fraternity without great suffering, without struggling against one another. Only now, only today is the first step actually being taken in this direction."

For the first time in history, the Russian Bolshevik Party and the great Lenin had discovered the soviet federation form of organization and laid the first bricks of the edifice of the world federation, in which all nationalities will live in harmony with one another under communism. Even before the October Revolution, in a complete theory on the law of development of nations, Lenin proved conclusively that the true resolution of the nationalities question must be closely linked to the socialist revolution, to the victory of socialism by means of coordinating the struggle of the working class and the national liberation movement as one.

One of the central elements in Lenin's theory is proletarian internationalism. The implementation of this principle in party building and in specific policies is of extremely important significance to the liberation of the nation and the liberation of society. Implementing Lenin's teaching, the Russian Social-Democrat Workers Party was established not as a party of Russians, but as the party of Russia, as a party representing the interests of all nationalities: non-Russians accounted for 36 percent of the party's membership, many of whom were Ukrainians, Latvians, Jews, Gruzians, Poles, Armenians and so forth, with the total number of nationalities exceeding 30. And, at its 10th Congress in 1921, the party resolved that the Russian republic must provide comprehensive financial assistance, technical-scientific assistance and assistance in the form of cadres and experts to the nationalities in the frontier region so that they rapidly reached the level of development of the central region.

Lenin considered the essence of resolving the nationalities question to be total equality among the nationalities and the right of self-determination of nationalities, even the right to live separately. This was a strong weapon in teaching internationalism to workers and uniting all laboring people, all oppressed nations around the working class so that they stood on the side of Marxism, on the side of Bolshevism. However, according to Lenin, the right of self-determination and the right to live separately cannot be taken to mean that any manner in which a nation chooses to live separately is suitable. Protecting this right in order to oppose the policy of national oppression of the czar is not at all inconsistent with unifying within a large, multi-national socialist state. According to Lenin, "...For the first time, the legitimate needs and the progressive aspirations of the laboring masses of every nationality are being satisfied within international solidarity..."(1)

One of the principles of the unity of nationalities set forth by Lenin is the principle of voluntary association: "The republic of the Russian people must encompass other nationalities and tribes, not by force, but only by means of voluntarily agreeing to establish a common state."(2) In actuality, the



process of establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a process of painstaking educational efforts, full preparations and experimentation under actual conditions which was carried out even before voluntary federation was achieved. In this process, Lenin always struggled against opportunism, which distorted the class nature of the nationalities issue, as well as against national nihilism, which denied the special characteristics of nationalities and the history, the culture and the tradition of each nationality. Lenin emphasized that the desire to develop all that is progressive, all that is outstanding within each nationality, which is the base of national pride, is never contrary to the interests of socialism, of the working class.

Over the past 60 years, the Leninist nationalities policy has recorded brilliant achievements, not only within the soviet political system, but in all other fields of political, social and cultural life as well.

Today, the Soviet Union consists of 15 federated republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous provinces and 10 autonomous regions. Of the Soviet Union's population of 250 million, about one-half are Russians while the other half consists of more than 100 different nationalities and tribes. Some large nationalities, such as the Ukrainians, encompass more than 50 million people but there are also small minority groups of less than 1,000 persons. Some nationalities are close in terms of their origins, languages and written histories, such as the Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians; however, there are some nationalities that have only acquired their own state under the socialist system, such as the Armenians. Although they are different, all of these nationalities have become equal socialist nationalities that live in fraternal friendship and cooperation and all have developed in a relatively uniform manner in every respect within the great Soviet family.

Legislatively, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union consists of two institutes--the All-Union Institute and the Nationalities Institute. The authority and the number of delegates of the two institutes are equal. Each federated republic appoints 32 delegates to the Nationalities Institute, each autonomous republic appoints 11, each autonomous province appoints 5 and each autonomous region appoints 1, for a total of 750 delegates. For example, both Latvia (with a population of 2.5 million) and the Ukrain (with a population of 50.3 million) have the same number of delegates at the Nationalities Institute. The election of the All-Union Institute is carried out on the basis of the union being divided into regions of equal population. Thus, the All-Union Institute represents the interests and the needs of the Soviet people as a united bloc while the Nationalities Institute represents, in addition, the separate interests of the nationalities and tribes.

Equality under the law goes hand in hand with the actual equality of the various nationalities. Over the past 60 years, extremely large changes have occurred in every field of the lives of the nationalities. The economic and cultural backwardness of the ethnic frontier regions under the czars has been relegated to the distant past. Modern industry and large-scale agriculture have been established everywhere. Numerous nationalities have advanced to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In many production sectors, many republics are today exceeding the average production

levels of the union. Over the past 60 years, while the industrial production of the entire country has increased 483-fold, industrial production has increased by 666 times in Kirgiz, 896 times in the Caucasus, 822 times in Tadzhik, 945 times in Armenia, more than 900 times in Moldavia and so forth.

In 1924, Uzbek had nothing more than a few shops producing bricks, edible oil and handicraft products. Despite very favorable natural conditions for the cultivation of cotton, the cotton harvest never exceeded 200,000 tons per year. Today, Uzbek has become a major agro-industrial trust that not only harvests 6 million tons of cotton each year, the highest level of production in the world, but which also has much natural gas, a developed non-ferrous metal refining sector, copper and gold. The people's standard of living is high and their entire lifestyle has changed. These changes are the result of joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The economies of the Soviet republics have been widely socialized and supplement one another. The potassium salt deposits that have been discovered in Belorussia have permitted the construction of a chemical industry there (which produces one-half the potash fertilizer of the Soviet Union). Belorussia have favorable conditions for the manufacture of machinery: the republic produces one-fifth of the motorcycles, one-sixth of the tractors and one-tenth of the refrigerators of the entire Soviet Union. However, the manufacturing and chemical sectors of Belorussia could not exist without oil, coal and metals from Siberia, the Ukrain and the other republics.

Along with economic prosperity has come the cultural prosperity of the Soviet nationalities. The spiritual life of the Soviet citizen today is very diverse and rich. The unified culture of the Soviet people respects and incorporates everything of value, everything of common meaning in the cultural and art achievements and traditions of all the socialist nationalities; at the same time, this culture is broader and much more diverse than the culture of each separate nationality.

The class structure and ethnic makeup of the Soviet republics have completely changed. The percentage of local ethnic minority members within the ranks of the working class has increased very much. This is the main force that has brought the nationalities closer together. Today, each republic is also a state encompassing many nationalities. Representatives of many fraternal nationalities are found in every sector of the national economy, at every enterprise and within every agency of the union. Thus, a new historic community of man has formed, the soviet nation. It has united all social classes and groups, all nationalities and tribes on the basis of socialist internationalism. For this reason, the 26th Congress of the CPSU set forth the argument that, even under the conditions of developed socialist society, it is possible to build a society without classes.

Clearly, the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the leadership of the CPSU has been of extremely important significance in the development of the Soviet nationalities over the past 60 years. The fraternal friendship and the international cooperation among the Soviet nationalities were challenged in the fight against domestic counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists following the October Revolution, in the great war to

defend the country against the fascists and in the entire process of building socialism and developed socialism. And, today, the strength of this friendship and cooperation is being brilliantly expressed in working together to implement large, all-union national economic programs, build "projects of the century" and carry out the complex socio-economic tasks of developed socialism. This friendship and cooperation are the origin of each of the achievements that have made the Soviet Union the most powerful country in the world. As Truong Chinh said during his official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union on 5 October 1982, "embodying the strength of our times, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has, since the day it was born, displayed its invincibility and constantly grown. Today, with its unswerving Leninist peace policy and the remarkable achievements of the new system, the Soviet Union is not only a banner inspiring others, it is also an economic and military power, the citadel of world peace and the firm base of nations in their struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The founding and building of the USSR are a model of how to resolve the nationalities question within a country and a bright example of the relations among nationalities and nations. The Soviet Union has not only taken the lead in the socialist revolution, in blazing the path for the construction of socialism and communism, but it is also the country that has taken the lead in the establishment of totally new social relations based on proletarian internationalism. It has provided extremely valuable experiences to all mankind. As the resolution of our Political Bureau emphasizes, "the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics...was an event of major international significance in the struggle by mankind for equality and friendship among nations." The development and unprecedented growth of the three revolutionary currents in the world today, the solidarity of the socialist community and the strength that lies in the struggle to prevent war and safeguard world peace have been closely associated with the existence and the development of the Soviet Union over the past 60 years.

By creatively applying Lenin's nationalities policy, our party achieved success in resolving the nationalities issue within our country. In 1919, under the light of the October Revolution, reading Lenin's "Thesis on the Nationality and Colonial Questions" led Uncle Ho to completely support the 3rd International and become the first communist in Vietnam. When it was born in 1930, the Indochina Communist Party, the forerunner of the Vietnam Communist Party, recorded in its political platform: "the totally independent region of Indochina will recognize the right of nations to self-determination." The nations of Indochina waged a determined struggle to free themselves from the rule of the French colonialists and win total independence and freedom; the nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have selected the political system that they prefer.

Brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, the three nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have won their independence and freedom following several decades of struggle filled with sacrifices and hardships against the common enemy and are strengthening their militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation more with each passing day in order to build socialism and defend the fatherland.

Vietnam itself is a unified nation consisting of many different nationalities and tribes. Besides the Vietnamese, who constitute the ethnic majority, there are 52 fraternal ethnic minorities. In their several thousand year history, the nationalities within Vietnam have been closely linked together within a bloc and have shared a tradition of close unity in building and defending the country. On the basis of these special characteristics, our party adopted the following line for resolving the nationalities question: "Uniting all nationalities on the basis of the principle of equality and mutual assistance in order to achieve independence, freedom and happiness for all nationalities." In the more than 50 years of the revolutionary struggle, this nationalities policy has yielded fine results. All of the nationalities within our country united closely, fought and won victory in the wars of resistance against France, the United States and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. The ethnic minorities have been totally liberated from the yoke of oppression and exploitation, have become equal in every respect with the ethnic majority and, with the positive assistance of the state, are making every effort to develop the economy and culture in order to abolish the backward conditions resulting from the old system, gradually reach the common level of development and exercise collective ownership along with and unite closely with the ethnic majority in order to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland in accordance with the resolution of the 5th Congress of the VCP.

In the process of fighting and winning victory as well as in socialist construction, all of the nationalities in Vietnam have received tremendous, wholehearted and effective support and assistance from the Soviet Union.

The solidarity, friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union have their origins in history and are long-standing traditions. They are based on the principle of genuine proletarian internationalism. They have been challenged in both the efforts to protect socialism as well as in peaceful creative labor. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union that was signed in 1978 while a delegation from our party and state headed by Le Duan was visiting the Soviet Union marks a new stage in the development of relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. This treaty has clearly shown the strong vitality and the great effectiveness of Vietnam-Soviet relations as regards serving the interests of the peoples of the two countries and supporting the cause of peace and cooperation in the world.

Today, the cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union encompasses every field of political and economic life. The frequent meetings between the highest leaders of the two parties and the two states confirm the common stand and goal of the two countries concerning pressing international issues. The economic-commercial relations between the two countries have grown very much in recent years and have assumed many new forms. The recent visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation from our party and state headed by Truong Chinh helped to further strengthen the relations between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. At a meeting in the Kremlin on 5 October 1982, L.I. Brezhnev declared that "strengthening our cooperation in every area with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an immutable principle of the CPSU. We in the Soviet Union will always adhere to this line." And, Truong Chinh, on behalf of our

party and state, emphasized that solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union are the bedrock of our country's foreign policy. He said: "Faithful to the Testament of President Ho Chi Minh, the people of Vietnam will forever be grateful to the Soviet Union and will make every effort to preserve the friendship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union as the apple of their eye while doing everything they possibly can to constantly strengthen and develop this friendship, which has been a factor in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution in past years and will continue to be so in future years."

Our people are determined to respect and make every effort to strengthen and develop the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, considering this to be a mandate of their heart and mind.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 26, p 46.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 32, p 154.

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CSO: 4210/5

## BUILDING AND EMPLOYING THE STRENGTH OF THE REAR AREA IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 11-19

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai]

[Text] In its review of the causes underlying the victory won in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Party Central Committee confirmed: "In that process, the party always attached importance to strengthening and protecting the great rear area in the North, which was the constant factor insuring the victory of the war of national salvation"(1); at the same time, "the party attached full importance to building and developing the revolutionary forces in the South."(2) From the realities of building and employing the strength of the rear area, we have learned and gained valuable lessons and experiences that have not only enriched and improved the party's storehouse of experience in leading a war effort, but which are also very useful in our tasks of building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland in the present stage of the revolution.

### Building the Common Rear Area of the Entire Country in Conjunction with Building Local Rear Areas on the Various Battlefields

Following the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, our Party Central Committee quickly established the task of building the North into the revolutionary base of the entire country while building base areas in the South with a view toward carrying out the two strategic tasks of the revolution in the two zones of the country. This wise and timely decision was not only consistent with the characteristics of our country, a country that was still partitioned, but also reflected our party's line on building the rear area within the full-scale people's war.

In order to mobilize the tremendous manpower and materiel of the people of the entire country for the revolutionary war, our party asserted that it was necessary to mobilize the strength of the entire nation and mobilize each and every potential of the entire country; every effort had to be made to build the North into the common rear area of the entire country while taking positive steps to build local rear areas in the South. However, because the social systems in the two zones of the country were opposing social systems

and because the revolutionary tasks of the country's two zones were different, the building of rear areas in the two zones had to be carried out on different scales and by different methods. The North, which had been totally liberated, had embarked on restoring and developing the economy and culture along socialist lines and was, at the same time, building the great rear area of the entire country's revolutionary undertaking as an independent and sovereign state. The South was under the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy there was a fierce one, consequently, the process of building local bases-rear areas in the South developed in an orderly manner from a low to a high level, from small to large scale and also developed rapidly and strongly when favorable opportunities arose and on the basis of the strong support provided by the North. In the various stages of development of the war, our party correctly and promptly guided the work of building the rear areas in each zone. The relationship between the great rear area and the local rear areas became increasingly close and the rear areas of each zone had a major impact. The great rear area was the most continuous and stable source of material and technical forces and means and played the most decisive role in the victory of the entire war. The local rear areas were also important, timely sources of supplies and were of decisive significance in seizing the initiative and winning victory on the great frontlines. During the years of the resistance against the United States, more than one-half of the forces and nearly 80 percent of the weapons, ammunition and technical equipment used on the various battlefields came from the great rear area; at the same time, more than 70 percent of the grain and food supplied to the armed forces was mobilized locally. The role played by the great rear area assumed increasing importance when the war became a large-scale, increasingly modern war (\*); however, this did not mean that the role played by the local rear areas was diminished. If local rear areas were not prepared and firmly strengthened, they could not receive or utilize the reinforcements from the great rear area. The experience of the various battlefields has proven that the bases-rear areas were not only strong, solid footholds that provided the material reserves that were needed when favorable opportunities arose so that large forces could be deployed in combat and launch victorious attacks, but they were also closely related to the formation of the effective battle position of the people's war and the victorious implementation of the various modes of war. Whereas the guerrilla war developed into a conventional war and the close coordination between the guerrilla war and the conventional war was the law by which victory was won in the revolutionary war in the South, the material-psychological strength of the rear areas--the great rear area coordinated with the local rear areas--was one of the important bases underlying the application of this law. Because, without strong, solid local bases-rear areas, it was impossible to build, maintain and develop the widespread movement of the mass armed forces to fight the enemy and without a strategic rear area that possessed abundant potentials, troop units and main force military corps could not have conducted large-scale combat operations to destroy large enemy forces in strategic offensives that were suddenly opened in many different directions, thus forming a very effective battle position, as they did on the battlefield in South Vietnam.

At present, now that the entire country has won its independence and is reunified, we are even better able to build a rear area that is strong and



solid in every respect, build a strategic rear area of the entire country in the broad meaning of the term, one that encompasses the entire territory of our country, from the North to the South; at the same time, we can take the initiative in building and preparing rear areas for each area and each locality so that we are ready to mobilize manpower and materiel to support the frontlines should the enemy recklessly unleash a war and can victoriously implement the strategy of a war to defend the fatherland.

#### Building a Progressive Social System, the Origin of the Rear Area's Strength in Every Respect

War is a decisive challenge to a nation, a challenge in which, as Lenin stated: "The nature of the war and its victory are dependent primarily upon the internal system of the country participating in the war." (3) Imbued with this teaching of Lenin, our party always considered building and strengthening the rear area to be an integral part of the building of the social system, the socialist system in the North and the people's democratic system in the liberated areas of the South, and considered the comprehensive strength of our system to be the origin of the strength of the rear area.

Under the leadership of the party, the North began the period of transition to socialism and recorded major victories in building the political system, the economy and the national defense system. In the South, the base areas and liberated zones were being enlarged with each passing day and the revolutionary government that had been established was leading the people in the struggle to protect their political and economic rights, win the rights of freedom and democracy and implement a policy of broad unit among the various strata of the people with a view toward struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys for the sake of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The achievements that were recorded in the effort to build a progressive social system created a high degree of political unanimity among the people and caused the rear area to be strengthened, to become increasingly uniform and to be the firm political and spiritual base of the frontlines. In the fierce war, the North met stern challenges and fulfilled its sacred obligations to "provide every kilogram of food, every soldier needed" and "provide everything for the frontlines, everything for victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors." In the base areas-liberated zones in the South, despite the tight blockade by the enemy, the fierce enemy attacks, the low population density and the destruction of the economy, the movements to establish "resistance war rice jars," "cultivate resistance war upland fields," be "brave women defending the nation," send "youths into the mountains" became universal.

The progressive social system truly created a "rear area within the hearts of the people" that no enemy could destroy.

Together with building the political system, the building of the economic potentials of the rear area was closely linked to the work of building the economic system. The victory of the production relations revolution in the great rear area brought about a change in the national economy. The economy consisting of many different segments, the dominant one being private production, became the socialist economy with its two forms of ownership



(national ownership and collective ownership) and the socialist economy assumed the decisive role within the national economy. The fact that the superior economic system of socialism was strengthened and improved even during the fierce war permitted our party and state to continuously mobilize a high level of manpower and materiel to meet the rising needs of the war. In the resistance against the United States, hundreds of thousands of laborers and millions of tons of grain were mobilized in the great rear area each year to meet combat and combat support needs; in 1 year, our party and state mobilized 6.6 percent of the social labor force and 20-25 percent of total grain output. The implementation of the line on socialist industrialization and the positive steps that were taken to accelerate the scientific and technological revolution enabled us to correct the very backward state of our production, gradually build material-technical bases of socialism, begin to supply technology to the national economy, supplement the national defense industry and meet some of the needs of the armed forces. The developed planned economy also created the conditions for shifting production from a war time to a peace time footing in a rapid and stable manner without chaos or major slowdowns, despite continuous enemy attacks.

During the years of the savage war, the South annually mobilized tens of thousands of tons of local grain; it developed from the point of only having enough grain in reserve for a few months to maintaining enough grain in reserve for 6 months and eventually for the entire year. In the Mekong River Delta, collections for the war of resistance amounted to 6.2 million gia of rice (\*) during the highest year; but, even during a difficult year, more than 1.2 million gia were collected.

In addition, the achievements recorded in cultural, educational and public health development in the rear area also had a strong impact and made a positive contribution to heightening the spirit of patriotism and the love of socialism among our people, thereby making a positive contribution to accelerating production while heightening the consciousness regarding national defense. In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, millions of assault youths left to fight the enemy with a profound national awareness and class awareness and recorded glorious achievements in both combat and combat support operations.

In summary, the building of the rear area must always be considered an integral part of the work of building the progressive social system. The achievements recorded in building the progressive system are the origin of the comprehensive strength of the rear area. General Secretary Le Duan summarized the tremendous strength of the people's democratic system and the socialist system in the revolutionary undertaking of the party as follows: "The new system awakened and multiplied the capabilities of the entire nation and of each Vietnamese, mobilized and organized every potential within the country, sought and acquired international assistance and created the large and invincible strength employed by our people in their combat and construction."(4)

Mobilizing Each Potential of the Rear Area for the War of Resistance in Order To Insure Our Ability To Fight a Protracted War, Become Stronger with Each Battle and Eventually Win Total Victory

A nation, no matter how prosperous or powerful it might be, cannot stockpile in peace time all of the supplies that will be needed to promptly and continuously meet each need in war time should a war break out. Therefore, when the danger of war arises or when a war breaks out, preparing and mobilizing potential forces are of special importance. The majority of the overall strength of the rear area that is built and prepared in peace time exists in the form of potentials. Only through organization and mobilization can we turn these potentials into real forces with which to wage a war and only in this way is it possible for the rear area to truly play its role as the factor determining victory. The experience of the various wars that have been fought in history shows that as a result of not making full preparations, as a result of poor organization and mobilization and as a result of not displaying high determination when mobilizing forces, many countries have encountered very many difficulties when wars have started and even been defeated by an opposition whose potentials have sometimes been weaker. For this reason, Lenin often said: "Once war become unavoidable, every effort must be devoted to the war and all negligence and lack of determination must be punished under war time law."(5)

In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the mobilization within the great rear area of the North was carried out in an effective and planned manner. In the South, because our liberated zones had to wage a decisive struggle with the enemy and were being formed gradually, were growing in size and developing from areas of disputed control to areas in which we exercised firm control, the mobilization could not be carried out in a totally independent manner.

In order for the mobilization to be carried out well, it is absolutely necessary to make active preparations in advance, to closely link the process of building the rear area to building the country in every respect and closely coordinate the various fields of cultural, educational and economic construction and development with strengthening the national defense system. We must make scientific forecasts of the nature and scale of the war that might break out in order to lay the basis for computing the needs that will have to be met in the initial period of the war as well as throughout the course of the war. On this basis, it is necessary to coordinate the preparations for the war even within the construction plans of the various sectors, the most important sectors being the sectors of the national economy, in order to gradually and effectively improve the country's defense capabilities while preparing reserve sources of manpower and materiel for the war. To make thorough preparations, a specialized agency must be established to formulate plans and promote the preparations for a mobilization. It must be an agency that regularly collects, collates and analyzes all of the most reliable data on the change and development of the potentials of the country, correctly evaluates the production capabilities of the various sectors, thoroughly prepares suitable forms and methods to be employed in the different situations that might occur when the threat of war is imminent or war has actually broken out and distributes and inspects the establishment of

strategic reserves. Before the U.S. imperialists unleashed the war of destruction, the great rear area in the North was prepared in accordance with this guideline.

Although the process of preparation and implementation was marked by such shortcomings as being less than thorough and not establishing close coordination between the construction and development of the various sectors and the strengthening of national defense capabilities, generally speaking, the rear area took the initiative in preparing for the war of aggression and, when the war broke out, the mobilization of manpower and materiel was carried out in a prompt fashion and the great rear area was coordinated with the local rear areas as well. This was particularly true during phases of combat of strategic significance on the battlefields of the South in which we rather quickly mobilized a large quantity of grain amounting to hundreds of thousands of tons and a force of hundreds of thousands of corvee laborers to support the frontlines.

At present, "our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a possible large-scale war of aggression unleashed by the enemy"(6); therefore, building our potentials and preparing for a mobilization are very important.

Mobilizing and utilizing the sources of manpower in a war are the main element of the system for mobilizing the potentials of the rear area. Mobilizing and utilizing manpower sources have become a matter of urgency to all countries in war, have become a matter requiring that a correct balance be established between the needs of the frontlines and the needs of the rear area, between the national defense system and the economy and between the task of "providing everything in order to win victory" and the task of preparing to build the country following the war. Experience has shown that manpower needs rise to very high levels when war has broken out. The need for manpower to supplement the armed forces each year alone increases four to five times compared to peace time. Many production sectors that directly support the national defense system (communication-transportation, posts-telegraph, mechanical engineering and so forth) need two to three times as much labor as they did before the outbreak of war. The longer a war lasts, the more it is necessary to establish a truly suitable balance among needs, especially between combat and production, in the mobilization and distribution of the labor of the country, especially high quality labor (young, able-bodied, educated and technically skilled). In a war, priority must be given to mobilizing and distributing labor for the buildup and expansion of the armed forces, both in quantitative as well as qualitative terms. Our party and state have shown appropriate concern and allocated for troop recruitment more than one-half the manpower that can be mobilized each year, manpower than is of an increasingly high quality (more than 70 percent are able-bodied youths 25 years of age or less, 60 to 70 percent of whom have a level II or level III general school education). Military recruiting and mobilization are considered a widespread campaign and political educational effort among the masses to meet quantitative and qualitative requirements, meet time and space requirements. During the years of the war of resistance, military recruiting

met and exceeded norms; 85 percent of the provincial and municipal units met and exceeded the norms assigned them by the upper echelon.

In order to meet manpower requirements during the war and make highly economical and efficient use of the various sources of labor, we had to take a number of measures, such as rationalizing the organization of labor, raising labor productivity, increasing the intensity of work, utilize the labor of persons beyond work age and persons younger than work age and so forth; however, rationalizing the organization of labor and raising labor productivity were the best of these measures.

Along with manpower, the material resources that had to be mobilized for the war constantly increased. There were some who mistakenly believed that the materiel for the war of resistance against the United States was acquired purely through international aid. Although foreign aid sources provided a very large quantity of the total material resources used by us, domestic sources also provided a very large quantity. Domestic sources met a significant portion of the need for grain and food products of the armed forces and the national defense support forces and permitted us to create the reserves needed to take the initiative in the different war situations. The distribution of material resources must be reasonably balanced among the needs of the economy, the national defense system, combat operations, everyday life, the frontlines and the rear area. Full use must be made of the capabilities of the domestic industrial sectors in order to reduce the importation of finished products from foreign countries, thereby fully utilizing and stimulating the development of our production capacity. In the recent war, only a number of sectors, such as the machine sector, the communications-transportation sector, the posts-telegraph sector, the textile sector and the ready-made clothing sector, were mobilized to a higher degree than the other sectors to support the national defense system. When the country's industry develops, we will have to mobilize very many important industrial sectors to support the national defense system, such as the metal refining, chemical, mechanical engineering, energy, electronic and other sectors.

In war, strategic materials must be very tightly managed and must be distributed, utilized and stored in a very economical manner. However, the army as well as the other sectors still utilized many strategic materials in a wasteful manner, including materials imported as aid from the fraternal socialist countries. The percentage of materials that were damaged as a result of being poorly maintained, poorly transported or improperly used or as a result of enemy attacks was still high. As the size of material reserves increases, the need to protect and maintain them becomes increasingly important; otherwise, strategic reserves lose their significance and lose the readiness with which they can be used.

It would have been a very serious mistake to establish high requirements regarding the mobilization of manpower and materiel during the war but not attach appropriate importance to caring for and strengthening the people. President Ho taught that if we "build the nation while waging the war of resistance," "all troops will have adequate grain and weapons so that they can kill the foreign aggressors." (7) Therefore, to highly mobilize the potentials of the rear area, importance must be attached to strengthening the people, to

accelerating production and trying to maintain the living standard of the masses with a view toward continuously building their morale and heightening their determination to wage the war of resistance. Our superior system mobilized the potentials of the country for the war not on the basis of coercing and exploiting the people, but on the basis of teaching patriotism, teaching love of the system and bringing the people's right of ownership into play in the task of defending and saving the country; at the same time, our system fulfilled its responsibility to care for and strengthen the people so that the mobilization could continuously be carried out on a high level.

The fundamental problem in increasing the strength of the people in the course of the war is to maintain and accelerate production. Only on this basis is it possible to stabilize and maintain the standard of living of the people within the rear area.

During the years of the war, our party and government were very concerned with accelerating production and focused major efforts on the agricultural front, primarily the production of grain. Industry was reoriented to support the national defense system and agricultural production. During the war, unavoidable difficulties were encountered in everyday life and many goods were scarce, consequently, it was absolutely necessary in the rear area to implement a war time distribution policy that would guarantee a stable supply of goods to those persons to whom priority had to be given, such as the armed forces, the cadres and personnel of the sectors directly supporting the national defense system, etc. Together with the distribution policy, the promulgation and the strict, fair implementation of numerous other policies, such as the tax policy, the work obligation policy, the military obligation policy, the army rear area policies and so forth, had a positive impact upon production and upon the effort to maintain the material and spiritual standards of living of the rear area during the war. War time economic management, social management and the fight waged against speculation, hoarding, theft and so forth also helped to stabilize the standard of living and mobilize the people. It was also very necessary to organize and guide the people in passive defense activities and the evacuation program in order to protect their lives and property.

The stabilization and maintenance of the living conditions of the people in the rear area had to be carried out during the entire course of the war and the close relationship between mobilizing the potentials of the country and increasing the strength of the people had to always be maintained. Only in this way was it possible to constantly increase the strength of the rear area in the revolutionary war.

#### Fighting the Enemy's Blockade and Interdiction, Determined To Maintain the Flow of Reinforcements from the Rear Area to the Frontlines

We would not have been able to use the strength of the rear area, regardless of how great it might have been, if we did not maintain a continuous flow of reinforcements from the rear area to the frontlines. In the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the U.S. imperialists waged a savage war of destruction against the North, a war which also had the objective of blockading and interdicting every source of reinforcements being

sent from the great rear area to the great frontlines. Millions of tons of bombs were dropped by the enemy's air and naval forces in order to destroy our entire system of water-land communications and transportation, and communications-transportation became a violent combat front in the war. Keeping this front open so that we could constantly transport forces and materials to the frontlines became the central, urgent task of the entire party, the entire army and all our people. In order to win victory, we concentrated our forces and material means on this front. During the years of the war, the party and government strengthened the forces of the communications-transportation sector and regularly allocated more than 20 percent of total investment capital to maintaining the operations of the communications-transportation sector. The party and government decided at an early date to build the North-South strategic transport line and assigned this task to the army. The Truong Son Strategic Transport Corps turned the "trail" that bore the name of the revered Uncle Ho into a developed, mechanized communications-transportation network capable of transporting hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies per year, thereby insuring the steady flow of forces, supplies and technology to the various battlefields in the South. In the great rear area, besides the communications and transportation forces of the state, the party and government, by mobilizing all the people, established a large communications-transportation army consisting of hundreds of thousands of persons, persons who contributed more than 90 million mandays to build roads, repair bridges and ferry landings, provide rudimentary transportation, etc.

In the fierce fight against the enemy's blockade and interdiction, we displayed very much creativity in maintaining communications and transportation operations. We made combined use of the various modes of transportation (secret and in the open, direct and in individual stages and so forth); at the same time, we made coordinated use of the various types of land, river, sea and pipeline transportation and even air transportation when the necessary conditions existed. We also gave our attention to making full use of each type of equipment, from the rudimentary to the modern; however, we always attached importance to upgrading transportation operations to large-scale operations and using primarily mechanized equipment in order to keep pace with the increasingly modern development of the war. As a result of employing determined, creative modes and measures, the volume of reinforcements provided to the various battlefields in the different stages of the war constantly increased (\*), which was an extremely important material factor in the victories won by the frontlines.

The building and development of military transport forces and the high degree of militarization of the communications-transportation operations of the country during the war were necessary in order to win victory.

The task of providing transportation in areas in which heavy fighting was taking place, especially in areas adjacent to battlefields, was assigned to the communications support forces and the transport forces of the army. The establishment of troop units and military transport corps proved to be appropriate and highly efficient. In the rear area, the highly militarized communications-transportation sector of the state was still able to utilize its great strength.

The fight against the enemy's blockade at sea was of important significance to the rear area in the North as well as to our country, a country that has a seacoast that stretches for thousands of kilometers, in receiving the large amounts of aid being sent from the fraternal socialist countries. Winning victory over an enemy who enjoyed air and naval superiority involved a fierce and very difficult struggle. We had to closely coordinate the fight to protect our seacoast with transportation at sea; utilize every scale of transport operations, small, medium and large, on the overt and covert transport lines; organize the widespread disarming of bombs and mines by means of forces operating at sea and coastal forces; organize new seaports to receive cargo; bravely organize trans-shipment from the open sea and so forth. The fight to win victory over the enemy's blockade was closely linked to the fight to liberate the South and reunify the fatherland.

In defending the independent, reunified and socialist Vietnamese fatherland, fighting an enemy blockade at sea or in the air continues to be an important strategic task, one in which we must research and apply the experiences recently gained.

The experiences of the recent war of resistance against the United States for national salvation are very useful in the present task of building and preparing the rear area. We are firmly confident that, with the tremendous material and spiritual potentials of the entire country, with the valuable experience that has been gained and with the correct line and the clearsighted leadership of the Party Central Committee, our people will surely achieve success in their work of building a strong, solid rear area for our reunified country as well as rear areas within each locality. Success in this effort is a firm guarantee of victory in a war to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 24.

2. Ibid.

\* After 1965, when the U.S. imperialists widened their war of aggression to our entire country, the forces and material-technical means sent from the great rear area for use in the war of resistance accounted for an increasingly high percentage, increasing from one and one-half to four times as large as the forces and material-technical means provided by local sources.

3. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 361.

\* One gia of rice is the equivalent of 20 kilograms of paddy.

4. Le Duan: "Advancing the Country to the Level of Development of Our Times Under the Banner of the Party," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 2-1980, p 18.



5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 41, p 175.
6. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, P 32.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "For Independence and Freedom, For Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 81.
- \* Summary data compiled by the Strategic Transport Line shows that the volume of materials and technology supplied to the various battlefields during the fight to win victory over the "limited" war (1965-1968) increased nine times compared to the volume supplied during the fight to win victory over the "special" war (1961-1964); during the fight against the "Vietnamization of the war" (1969-1972), the volume of materials and technology supplied increased four times compared to the fight against the limited war.

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## WITHIN THE CONSTELLATION OF SOVIET FRATERNITY

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[Article by G. Budai, editor-in-chief of the BELORUSSIAN COMMUNIST Journal]

[Text] Belorussia, an equal republic among the equal Soviet Socialist Republics, stretches across the western region of the Soviet Union. The people here have loved freedom, loved work and enjoyed a wholesome spiritual life since ancient times. However, before the great October Socialist Revolution, not even the word "Belorussia" could be found on maps. It was a region of forests and swamps, of inescapable privation.

The great October Revolution brought to an end the misery of the oppressed nationalities within czarist Russia, including the Belorussians. For the first time in history, this nationality had its own state and became the master of its destiny.

However, the journey by the Soviet nationalities to freedom and happiness has truly not been an easy one. We had to win victory over innumerable domestic and foreign enemies who wanted to crush the new soviet state. At the conclusion of the civil war, we had to overcome the ravages of that war, had to bring back to life the factories and shops that ceased production during the war, restore communications, transportation and agriculture and maintain our security in the face of the new schemes of the enemy.

Only through the common efforts of all nationalities combined to form a unified state was it possible to perform all of these jobs. This was what the great Lenin taught, what the communist party appealed for. And, the nationalities of our fatherland, the Belorussians included among them, did not hesitate to follow the course charted by Ilyich. In December, 1922, they were united in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was the embodiment of the thinking of the great Lenin and the Leninist nationalities policy.

The fraternal union of the liberated nationalities helped them to restore the national economy that had been ravaged in the long years of the imperialist war and the civil war and made it possible to move toward real equality and total equality of rights, possible to steadily build a socialist society.

This can be clearly seen in soviet Belorussia. Under the leadership of the communist party and with the fraternal assistance of the other nationalities, most importantly the great Russian nationality, the laboring people of the republic have increasingly advanced to new pinnacles in their development. Enterprises, factories and electric power plants have been constructed and farmers have steadily advanced down the path of socialist development. The cultural revolution was successfully carried out. A network of schools covers the republic. The Belorussian National University has been opened and the Academy of Sciences and numerous research institutes have begun operations. Theaters have been constructed and clubs have been opened. Newspapers and magazines are being published in the Belorussian language. The people of Belorussia have built a solid and stable new life in their free land.

It is very easy to imagine how much progress down the path of building the material-technical bases of socialism the soviet republics, Belorussia included among them, could have made had not our peaceful labor been interrupted by the perfidious attack by Hitler's fascists. Possessing an ardent love of their fatherland and not able to visualize a future without a people's government, a soviet government, the Soviets arose to defend their fatherland and protect their freedom.

During the years of the war, Belorussia, which was occupied by the enemy, proved itself worthy of the honor of being the guerrilla-republic. The fascist aggressors had hoped to strike terror in the hearts of the people and turn them into shameless slaves by means of acts of destruction, by means of gallows, acts of cruelty and acts of cold-blooded murder. However, the enemy miscalculated. The people of Belorussia were not panic-stricken and did not kneel in submission. The challenges and hardships did not break their will, did not shake their confidence in victory. Seething with hatred for the cowardly foreign aggressors, they and all of the other nationalities within our country arose in a sacred war against the occupying forces. Nearly one-half million guerrillas and secret soldiers fought against the enemy in Belorussia. Hundreds of thousands of persons in the cities and villages actively supported them. The guerrilla movement was truly international in nature. The sons and daughters of more than 70 Soviet nationalities and tribes fought within the ranks of the Belorussian guerrillas. The Belorussian Communist Party, a militant unit of the CPSU, inspired and organized this fight by all the people within the territory of the republic.

In the more than 3 year struggle against the Belorussian guerrillas, Hitler's command was forced to use dozens of armed units, including regular force troops. By drawing the forces of the enemy toward themselves and by pinning these enemy forces down, the guerrillas greatly assisted the Red Army. They killed nearly one-half million fascist troops and captured and destroyed a large quantity of their weapons and ammunition.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the great war to defend the country clearly proved the indestructible power of the socialist state. It showed that no force in the world can enslave nations who are educated and forged by the communist party, who are loyal to the thinking of Marxism-Leninism, who are boundlessly loyal to their socialist fatherland. And, it is with happiness that we note that the struggle by heroic Vietnam for its independence and

freedom has once again eloquently proven the invincibility of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the invincibility of a party and nation armed with this ideology.

The years of post-war reconstruction and economic development are also brilliant pages in the annals of friendship of the Soviet nationalities. The reconstruction of the areas destroyed by the German fascist occupiers demanded the full efforts of each and every force.

The fascist aggressors inflicted heavy losses upon Belorussia. Its cities and villages were reduced to rubble. The occupiers destroyed more than 10,000 industrial enterprises, plundered and destroyed all state farms, collective farms, tractor stations and other machine stations and burned or took back to Germany countless cultural treasures. One quarter of the Belorussian population died in the flames of war within the republic. Many areas became uninhabited. In December, 1944, the gross industrial output of the republic equalled only 10 percent of the pre-war, December 1940 level. As someone said, we had to rebuild our economy from small piles of rubble.

One would have thought that several decades would be needed to bring the scarred and bloodied land of Belorussia back to life. And, this would have been the case had not Soviet Belorussia been part of the fraternal family of socialist nationalities, been part of the powerful soviet state. The people of Belorussia did not face their tragedy alone. The great Russian nation and all the nations of the Soviet Union came to our assistance. And, what transpired can only be called a record. In a very brief span of history, Belorussia not only healed the serious wounds of the war, but also far exceeded its pre-war level of development.

Symbolic of the unbreakable friendship of the soviet nationalities are the large industrial centers and the powerful factories and plants that have arisen on the soil of Belorussia and the highly productive fields that have replaced the swamps of bygone years.

Power lines and oil pipelines stretch over long distances. The dominant economic sectors, the energy, machine manufacturing, especially the manufacture of tools, the chemical and the petro-chemical industries, have developed at the most rapid rate. The production of ordinary goods has continuously developed. Compared to 1922, total industrial output within the republic has increased more than 700 times.

Soviet Belorussia is successfully performing its tasks on the basis of an all-union division of labor and specialization by territory. The products of the Belorussian enterprises, tractors, large trucks, electronic computers, potassium salt, refrigerators, televisions, manmade fibers and thread, meat, milk and many other products are constantly being shipped to places throughout the country. Products bearing the Belorussian label are well known even overseas. Tractors produced in Minsk have been exported to 68 countries of the world and metal cutting machines have been exported to 70 countries. The "Belorussia" tractor is even operating on fields in Vietnam and we are very happy to learn that this tractor has proven to be a dependable tool of farmers.

However, in order to produce all of these products, Belorussia receives from the other federated republics anthracite coal and coke, oil and gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, electric motors, coal powered engines, wool, cotton and many other types of products. These close economic relations and the high level of division of labor among the republics has permitted each republic to make the most efficient use possible of the capabilities of the socialist economy and the achievements of advanced science and technology.

The new Belorussian countryside with its fertile fields, livestock production trusts, agricultural enterprises, power stations and high power lines is organically linked to the industrial landscape of Belorussia. Employing advanced technology, the workers in the countryside have increased the production of cereal grains, potatoes, meat, milk, fiber and other products more with each passing year. The progress that has been made in agricultural production has occurred along with the reorganization of the entire lifestyle of farmers. Agricultural labor has become a form of industrial labor and the daily activities of rural citizens are becoming more and more similar to those of urban dwellers.

On the basis of economic development, the standard of living of the Soviet people has been constantly raised. Wages have increased. Subsidies and special payments from the social consumption fund have also been increasing. The money in this fund is used to provide a free education. The state assumes four-fifths the cost of caring for children in child care centers and nurseries. The state spends more than 1,000 rubles per college student per year. In 1981, the people of Belorussia received 4.2 billion rubles in subsidies, special payments and services from the social consumption fund. During the years following the war, 125 million square meters of housing were built in Belorussia. Under the 10th five year plan alone, the living conditions of more than 2 million persons were improved.

Any description of the transformations within Belorussia that have been achieved within the fraternal family of Soviet nationalities would be incomplete without discussing the spiritual growth of the people or the flourishing nature of popular education, science, literature and art in the prosperous land of socialism. Whereas, for example, 8 of every 10 Belorussians were illiterate prior to the October Revolution, today, 8 of every 10 persons working in the national economy has a middle level or high level education. Within the republic, there are 33 colleges, 3 of which are universities, and 136 vocational middle schools. Here, more than a few young Vietnamese men and women are studying. Now, there are 177 students for every 10,000 persons, which is much more than in Great Britain, France, the GDR and Italy. Belorussia now has more than 1 million specialists who have earned diplomas.

A widespread network of theaters, cultural halls, clubs, libraries and museums, millions of books and magazines and a developed network of television and radio stations are satisfying the spiritual needs of the laboring people of the cities and the countryside. Over the past 60 years, the scientific potentials of Belorussia have increased many times. There are five Academy of Sciences annexes consisting of 32 large scientific collectives. The republic has a total of more than 39,000 scientific cadres engaged in research work.

All of these achievements of Soviet Belorussia were made possible merely by the fact that the republic joined the powerful Soviet Union of free nations; within this union, the cooperation and mutual assistance among the various nationalities in all fields of material life as well as spiritual life are constantly being strengthened.

Today, the Soviet Union is a model of the free development of equal nations linked closely to one another by an unbreakable thread of friendship and fraternity; these nationalities have completed the construction of developed socialist society and are now creating the bright communist future. Each and every Soviet citizen enthusiastically supports the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU. The implementation of this policy insures that new frontiers will be reached in the development of the economy, the culture, the soviet state and socialist democracy, thereby raising the standard of living of the laboring people in the cities and the countryside.

The resolutions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the 11th five year plan and the grain and food program ratified by the plenum of the CPSU in May, 1982, have opened new horizons for all the nationalities of the Soviet Union. The citizens of the Soviet Union are enthusiastically working to carry out their new, large tasks. However, they clearly recognize that there must be peace for them to do everything that has been proposed; therefore, they do not hesitate to further strengthen the defenses of the country, to further increase the power of the Soviet Union. Wholeheartedly endorsing and supporting the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, our people, together with the people of the fraternal socialist countries and every person of good will, are determined to protect the great cause of peace and progress on the planet.

These days, the laboring people of Belorussia as well as each and every Soviet citizen are solemnly celebrating a great holiday, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With intense enthusiasm, they prepared for this holiday in practical ways and are celebrating it by means of new and outstanding achievements.

United within a loving family, the Soviet citizens are calmly and confidently working, studying, raising their children and relaxing under the bright, peaceful sky of our fatherland. This calmness and this confidence are unshakeable because our foundation is the profound trust that the people have in the beloved party that is steadily leading them toward a bright goal--the successful building of communist society.

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EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCES: THE CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES OF VIETNAM(\*)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 25-45

[Text] Nguyen Khan Toan:

The cultures of nations are not cast in a common mold, rather, each nation contributes something to the culture of mankind.

The traditional Vietnamese culture possesses such remarkable vitality because it expresses the patriotic spirit of our people and symbolizes the strong vitality of the nation in the following special characteristics:

First, it was established through the labor and the intelligence of persons who have always struggled for a just cause to win and protect their right to live, their right to happiness and their right to freedom. In this struggle, the nation of Vietnam became aware of the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" at a very early date.

Secondly, the conditions and circumstances under which they have lived, worked and fought made them aware, at an early date, of the strength of and the necessity for the unity of a community of persons struggling for legitimate rights, for independence, freedom, equality and happiness.

These are the factors that have forged the enduring spirit, the heroic character and the indomitable, unyielding will in the struggle against nature as well as in the social struggle.

Thirdly, under the conditions and circumstances of ancient times, that is, in view of the facts that the land in which the Viets lived was still small and that the small population was scattered throughout this land, natural disasters as well as enemy attacks were constant perils. The challenges they faced, therefore, were increasingly sharp and decisive. Building the country naturally had to be closely coordinated with defending the country. Defending the country could not be separated from building the country. This coordination is a law that has developed the creativity of the national culture and insured the success of the effort to build and defend the country in every situation.

Fourthly, traditional Vietnamese culture was born during a period in which ownership by the clan was the dominant form of ownership with democracy being practices in the villages, the center of which was the family.

In terms of rights and obligations, the style of life, the affairs of state, the affairs of the village and the work of the household were closely interrelated.

The popular nature of traditional Vietnamese culture is its firm foundation.

The spirit of democracy, as crystallized in the spirit of national unity, the spirit of unity of all the people, is a manifestation of the spirit of humanism and ardent love, of loving others as oneself, of helping one another, of sharing joys and hardships, of helping someone who is down and of feeling pain at the suffering of others.

Traditional Vietnamese culture is a manifestation of ardent patriotism, deep love and humanism.

This spirit became the moving force behind the desire to unify the people, unify our nation and territory. As President Ho announced to the entire world more than 30 years ago, in our several thousand year history of struggle against foreign aggression, this will has, through the spirit "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" and the spirit of national unity, become the irrefutable history of the defeat of all schemes by past and present aggressor powers to divide our country.

"The country of Vietnam is one.  
The Vietnamese people are one.  
The rivers might run dry and the mountains might crumble,  
But this truth will never change."

Possessing a bright spirit of humanism, Vietnamese patriotism has always firmly stood on the side of the just cause. Today, we call this patriotism genuine patriotism. Because, it has as its goal protecting the basic national rights, national independence, freedom and the happiness of the people and has established humanism and loyalty as the standards for the relationship among persons.

Humanism, which is a major cultural and spiritual value of traditional Vietnamese culture, is a combination of beautiful thoughts reflecting consideration for others and straightforward actions.

It is because of this humanism and the fact that the just cause has been theirs that the Vietnamese have not become arrogant because they have won brilliant victories in very arduous and difficult struggles and, more importantly, have not been poisoned by bellicose, militaristic thinking, by expansionist or hegemonist ambitions, have not abandoned the just cause to pursue an unjust cause.

To the contrary, at times when the situation was extremely perilous and the enemy stood on our border demanding that we allow them to pass through our

land so that they could attack our neighbor, our entire country rejected their ultimatum and joined our neighbor in driving off the enemy and putting an end to their dream of expanding into the nations of the South.

The beautiful virtues filled with humanism of our nation in its work of building and defending the fatherland have been directed toward one goal: the peace and prosperity of the people. This has also been the ambition of the laboring people in all ages.

This principle was employed by Nguyen Trai, whose thinking and career marked the pinnacle of the national consciousness and the patriotism of the Vietnamese in the Middle Ages, as the introduction as well as an exhortation in "Report to the People on the Defeat of the Minh," which was the second declaration of independence in Vietnamese history:

"The sole purpose of love and justice is the peace and security of the people."

This is the goal, it is the legitimate, natural right of all nations on earth.

"Love others as you love yourself," this expression of humanism in a simple, natural phrase has become a standard in the relations among persons. It can be considered as the seed from which the thinking "one for all, all for one" germinated.

From this perspective, we see that the love of peace has been the consistent theme in our nation's long struggle against foreign aggression.

The love of peace became even more intense after the brilliant victories described below were won:

"The fatherland will surely be ours for thousands of years"  
(Tran Nhan Tong)

"We disarmed the enemy at Chuong duong  
Captured the enemy at Ham Tu  
And redoubled our efforts at Thai Binh.  
This land will be ours forever."  
(Tran Quang Khai)

Instead of killing the several hundred thousand troops of the Minh Army that surrendered, we supplied them with food, with elephants, horses and boats and sent them back to their loved ones; this was not only an expression of clemency on the part of victors, it also resulted in lasting peace between nations:

"It ushered in a millennium of peace"  
(Nguyen Trai, "Report to the People on the Defeat of the Minh")

The land in which the Vietnamese dwell has been the confluence of other cultural currents since antiquity.



For this reason, traditional Vietnamese culture has had to maintain its independence and special character; on the other hand, the Vietnamese have had to be broadminded and able to incorporate in their culture the cultural and spiritual values of other peoples.

Our forefathers had a correct attitude with regard to meeting these two requirements, two requirements which, on the surface, seem to contradict each other.

The first requirement, maintaining independence, was a requirement that was met without trying. Any culture is more independent when it is a culture that is closely associated with independence and freedom and has been established on the basis of an unyielding struggle for independence and freedom waged by a nation that has won continuous victories by thwarting the schemes of country-robbers to assimilate the nation both culturally and spiritually.

This proves that the nation of Vietnam has taken its place in world history by following a path of its own choosing. Because of this, it has made worthy contributions to the common progress of mankind.

The second requirement, incorporating the spiritual and cultural values of other nations, is closely related to the first requirement.

A culture, no matter how brilliant or beautiful it might be, cannot live by itself, cannot separate itself from the cultural intercourse among nations. Of course, some of the cultural and spiritual values that have been introduced from foreign countries have not been consistent with the independent, autonomous spirit or the beautiful traditions of the nation. Frequently, cultural contacts have been imposed upon us and foreign values have been forced upon us through war or the violation of the independence, sovereignty and dignity of the nation.

However, their profound sense of independence and sovereignty, their indomitable spirit and their creativity and humanism have helped our people avoid the two extremes--the slave mentality or factionalism, narrowmindedness, arrogance and self-satisfaction--in order to creatively incorporate the valuable achievements of the cultures of other nations, thereby making the nation's culture increasingly rich and colorful but still maintaining its unique character and not allowing it to become a half native, half foreign culture, a patchwork culture.

Conversely, in the course of our people successfully building and defending the country, the Vietnamese culture has, of course, influenced the cultures of neighboring nations to one degree or another.

In their 40 centuries of brave and steadfast struggle filled with hardships and sacrifices, our people have recorded remarkable, earth-shattering feats of arms.

These feats of arms have, to a very important degree, been the result of the combined strength of the noble cultural and spiritual values of the nation, values that are crystallized in the three virtues of mercy, intelligence and

courage. In turn, these three virtues are embodied in the spirit of patriotism.

Vietnamese patriotism possesses invincible strength because it symbolizes a just cause.

Since antiquity, our people have fought under the banner of patriotism to "triumph over brutality by means of the great cause, to replace cruelty with mercy."

Vietnamese patriotism is genuine patriotism because it symbolizes the spirit that there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom.

Independence and freedom are the goals of all nations because "every nation has the right to live, has the right to happiness and the right to freedom"(Ho Chi Minh: "The Declaration of Independence").

The patriotism of the Vietnamese is closely associated with love of the people, respect for the people and the struggle for the happiness of the people, for the comfort of the people, for the security of the people in "eternal peace."

In the consciousness of our nation, the country and the people are one, the fatherland, the nation and the people are a single entity. Because, it was the laboring people who have built the Vietnamese fatherland, have made the heroic nation of Vietnam, created the noble cultural and spiritual values of the nation and written glorious chapters in the nation's history.

Vietnamese patriotism is the premise, is the firm foundation for the natural, inevitable progression to socialist patriotism under the banner "for national independence, for socialism."

Thus, our people, under the leadership of the party, have followed the course charted by President Ho: from patriotism to scientific socialism.

The Vietnamese culture of today is a socialist culture that is popular in nature and national in color. Its path of development, its functions and tasks were clearly defined in the Political Report presented at the 5th Congress of the Party by Le Duan:

"Since the day that the party was founded, the patriotic and democratic tradition of our people has, under the banner of national independence and socialism, been raised to a new level and been strengthened more than ever before. At present, our country is building the system of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people; this undertaking is implementing a law of our times and is, at the same time, enhancing the several thousand year cultural tradition of patriotism and democracy of the nation of Vietnam."(1)

Teaching socialist and communist consciousness begins with teaching socialist patriotism.

With this viewpoint in mind, I respectfully present three guidelines that are necessary for success in educational work.

First, the right of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people must be considered the decisive factor. Because, this is the factor that can and must readily accept the cultural and spiritual values of the nation as well as the factor that is responsible for and provides favorable conditions for developing and enhancing these values through the work performed in each field of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

Secondly, educational efforts must be directed toward three targets: production, combat readiness and combat and the happiness of the people. Each of these targets involves specific measures and innovations designed to increase work efficiency, heighten the fighting spirit and improve the material and spiritual lives of the people.

Thirdly, educational activities must become a broad mass movement within which the socialist emulation movement is the main moving force. Here, we must follow the example set by Uncle Ho in the war of resistance against France. It was he who launched the movement to "bring culture to the war of resistance, bring the war of resistance to culture." It is in this spirit that we must bring culture to production, to labor and combat, to our studies, to our style of life, to our relations with others, to our family life, our recreation and our entertainment.

Phan Huy Le:

#### I. The Position of the Present Socialist Revolution in the Nation's History

The formation and development as well as the preservation and enhancement of traditions always occur on the basis of the various socio-economic forms that exist. Therefore, it is first of all necessary for us to review, in a general manner, the evolution of the various socio-economic forms in the history of Vietnam so that we can clearly see the position that is occupied by the present revolution and the matters that are raised by the relationship between tradition and the revolution.

In the ancient past, our country as well as every other country in the world and mankind, in general, experienced a long period of development of the primitive commune. This first socio-economic form disappeared long ago but remnants of it have been preserved to this very day, especially within the society of the mountain ethnic minorities.

Later, in the period of the Hung Kings and An Duong Vuong during which the country was built, our country entered the period of a society divided into classes with a socio-economic structure characteristic of the East. In this society, slave exploitation emerged and developed to some extent but it was the slavery of paternalism and did not become the dominant relationship within society. The stable and universal base of society was the rural commune, that is, the traditional village, with its private ownership or occupation of cropland and broad autonomy in many areas. The communal peasants were the main production force of society. For awhile, this was called the Asian mode

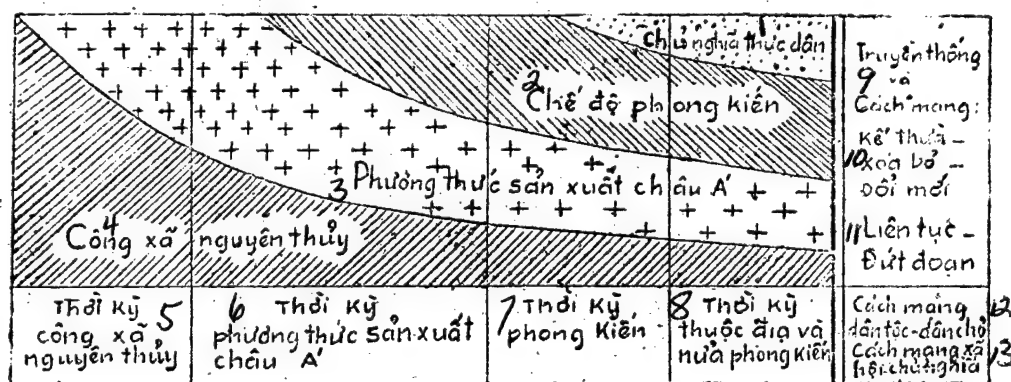
of production in accordance with the terminology set forth by K. Marx in 1859 in the preface to his work "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economics"; today, however, everyone realizes that this terminology did not reflect or encompass the basic characteristics of this socio-economic form.

On the foundation of the Asian mode of production, feudal production relations gradually emerged and led to the establishment of the feudal system somewhere around the 15th Century. The Vietnamese feudal system was not based on a territorial economy or the lord-serf relationship as it was in the West, rather, it existed on the basis of the preservation and the feudalization of the rural commune, the landlord economy and its landlord-tenant relationship.

In the mid-19th Century, as a result of being invaded and ruled by the French colonialists, Vietnamese feudal society became a colonial and semi-feudal society. Prior to that time, the first, very weak seeds of capitalism emerged within the weakened feudal society. Under the rule of colonialism, capitalist production relations developed to a certain extent but were still severely restricted.

Following the victory of the August Revolution in 1945, Vietnam, on the basis of completing the national-democratic revolution throughout the country, bypassed the stage of capitalist development and began the gradual but direct transition to socialism.

The entire evolution of the various socio-economic forms in the history of Vietnam up until the present socialist revolution can be summarized in the following chart:



1. Colonialism
2. The feudal system
3. The Asian mode of production
4. The primitive commune
5. The period of the primitive commune
6. The period of the Asian mode of production
7. The feudal period
8. The landowner and semi-feudal period
9. Tradition and the revolution:
10. Inherit-Abolish-Improve
11. Continuous-Interrupted
12. The national-democratic revolution
13. The socialist revolution

On the chart presented above, attention must be given to the following several points:

1. In ancient times, our country did not experience a period of Greek or Roman style slave ownership and, in modern times, Vietnam has bypassed the period of capitalist development; however, slave exploitation as well as capitalist production relations did develop to a certain degree and within certain limits.

2. Prior to the present socialist revolution, Vietnam had not experienced any true social revolution, even though changes of a revolutionary nature did occur in the shift from one socio-economic form to another.

3. In the course of the evolution of socio-economic forms, new forms have not abolished old forms but have, instead, preserved and modified them to be consistent with the new requirements of society. As a result, many different social forms develop on top of and alongside one another down through the many different periods of history.

4. The present social revolution is the first social revolution in the history of Vietnam and is a thorough social revolution.

In countries that experienced the period of capitalist development, the bourgeois revolution occurs before the proletarian revolution and has the task of abolishing the socio-economic structures that are the forerunners of capitalism.

In the East, in some countries, such as 19th Century India, the British colonialists, acting in the interests of colonialism, expanded the road network and carried out industrial development; "this intervention abolished these semi-barbarian, semi-civilized small communities by destroying their economic base, thereby carrying out the greatest social revolution, a revolution that is truly the only social revolution Asia has experienced to date." (2) According to K. Marx, the British colonialists carried out this revolution as "an unconscious tool of history" (3) and they destroyed the old world but did not build a new world consistent with the life of the Indian people. As regards our country, the French colonialists were not even able to carry out such as "unconscious revolution" during the period of French domination.

Thus, in the entire course of Vietnamese history, the present socialist revolution, for which the national-democratic revolution was a stage of preparation, has truly played the role as the first social revolution in our history. Its historic task is to abolish and transform an old world that is not simply based on one socio-economic form but which, instead, consists of colonialism, both old and new, the feudal system and even the persistent remnants of the primitive communal system and the Asian mode of production in order to, on this basis, build the new world of socialism and advance to communism.

The broad view of history presented above shows the important position, the great historic mission and the weighty, complex tasks of our present revolutionary undertaking.

## II. A Priceless Heritage that Must Be Inherited, Developed upon and Enhanced

The history of Vietnam and our people's long struggle to conquer nature, to build and defend the country have bequeathed to us a priceless heritage encompassing valuable experiences gained in many areas of life, cultural values, spiritual values and the fine traditions of the nation. President Ho and our party have respected this heritage very much and have always maintained that we must inherit, develop upon and enhance this priceless heritage of the nation's history.

The main foundations underlying the traditional values of the nation can be condensed into the following several points:

1. Working to conquer nature, build the country, develop the economy and culture and create civilization.

Labor is the origin of every material and spiritual cultural value. The work tradition is a beautiful quality of mankind and of the laboring people of every country in the world.

Our people have been performing their creative labor under the conditions of a trade wind, tropical environment that is very beautiful and rich but is also very harsh and under historic circumstances in which they have had to wage an arduous and nearly constant struggle against natural disasters and enemy attacks. This "challenge and adaptation" have forged our people's spirit of work, have created a tradition of diligent and patient, resourceful and creative labor. This tradition is vividly manifested in the labor of farmers, handicraftsmen and writers, in the age-old cultural achievements of the nation in all fields.

2. The struggle against foreign aggression to protect the independence, sovereignty and dignity of man and the nation.

Of itself, fighting foreign aggression is not a special characteristic of any nation because every nation in the world has had to fight in the course of its existence and growth to protect its life and independence. The salient characteristics of our nation's history of resistance against foreign aggression are that we have had to wage a continuous fight against foreign aggression ever since we began to build the country; we have always had to build the country in conjunction with defending the country and, in our defense of the country, we have fought large, powerful enemies and have had to fight and win victory under violent conditions. In view of these special characteristics and conditions, the long struggle against foreign aggression has had a profound influence upon every aspect of life and caused patriotism, national heroism, our desire for national independence and our indomitable will to emerge and develop at an early date.

3. The village structure based on the foundation of the rural commune.

Since antiquity, the people of Vietnam have lived, worked and fought within a very durable, traditional village structure. The origin and the foundation of this village structure were the rural commune of the Asian type, the fundamental characteristic of which was the ownership of cropland by the commune, close coordination between agriculture and the handicraft trades and the autonomy of the commune. This socio-economic structure created a kind of democratic community within the commune; as K. Marx observed, even during the Middle Ages in Europe, the commune was "the only center of freedom and life of the people."(4)

In the history of our country, the rural commune was preserved for a long time and played an important role in clearing land, building water conservancy projects and fighting foreign aggressors and was the center of folk culture. Its positive aspects helped to create and maintain many democratic communal relations and the traditions of village neighbors uniting with, loving and helping one another.

#### 4. National unity and unity of the nationalities.

Due to the special characteristics of the various pre-capitalist socio-economic forms and because it became necessary for us to join together early in our history to protect our common interests, the dominant trend of development of our country from the time that it was founded has been toward national unity and unity of the people. Although our economic and natural conditions did give rise to trends toward decentralization and plots to achieve regional domination and although these trends and plots were sometimes strong, they were rapidly defeated and thwarted.

The traditional products of this process of unifying the nation and unifying the people are national solidarity, the spirit of uniting for the sake of the nation's great cause and the people's sense of unity.

Our country's population encompasses many nationalities; however, in our history, there have never been serious prejudices or conflicts among the nationalities. To the contrary, the tradition "the people of a country must love one another" and the obligation of "blood brothers to one another" are the common sentiment and consciousness of the entire national community, of the community of many nationalities.

The above mentioned traditional values created the dignity of the nation of Vietnam, forged the capabilities and color of Vietnamese culture and are an important source of the nation's vitality. They are the essence of our national history and symbolize the intelligence, the soul and the lifestyle of Vietnam. In the socialist revolution, these traditional values must not only be inherited and developed upon, they must also be raised to a new level of quality on the basis of the revolutionary stand of the proletariat, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism together with the achievements of modern science as set forth in the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party: "The new culture crystallizes and raises to a new level all of the most beautiful aspects of the 4,000 year traditions of the Vietnamese soul, of the Vietnamese culture and selectively incorporates

the fruits of man's civilization and the achievements of modern culture and science."

### III. A Heavy Burden of the Past that Must Be Cast Aside

The proletarian revolution, as K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto," is "the most thorough departure from the traditional system of ownership; it will not be the least bit unusual if, in the course of its development, it is the most thorough departure from traditional ideas." (5) V.I. Lenin considered this to be "a very long job" in which "it is necessary to win victory over the resistance (which is usually negative, especially persistent and especially difficult to overcome) by many remnants of small-scale production, necessary to win victory over the tremendous strength of the conservative habits and practices associated with these remnants." (6) Generally speaking, the socialist revolution must transform and abolish private ownership of the instruments of production, the system of class oppression and exploitation and small-scale production, together with all the decadent ideas, remnants and habits associated with them.

In today's socialist revolution, history has placed upon us a heavy, very complicated burden that must be analyzed, a burden whose origin we must clearly recognize. As regards the history of the nation, in addition to the aftereffects of the long war and the schemes of sabotage of the enemy, I would like to direct the attention of readers to the following bases which retain the original structure they had in the old world social forms that were developed one on top of the other and which were summarized in the chart on the evolution of the various socio-economic forms.

#### 1. The slow development and the backwardness that have existed for 400 years.

In the development of world history, the 16th to the 19th Centuries marked a turning point between the East and the West.

In the West, capitalism was born at the start of the 16th Century followed by the victory of the bourgeois revolution between the 16th and 18th Centuries and the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th Centuries. As a result of these changes, the West entered the period of development of capitalism and became capitalist, industrial, civilized countries.

Meanwhile, eastern civilization was mired in the prolonged stagnation of pre-capitalist society, with the exception of Japan, which was developing in nearly the same way as the West. And, the unavoidable result was that the backward East became the target of aggression and enslavement by western capitalism. In turn, colonialism caused the development of the already backward East to be more severely impeded and caused the East to become more backward compared to the ever increasing rate of development of history.

Our country shared this fate. This fact was due to the declining feudal system based on the remnants of the Asian mode of production and to colonialism.



It was not until after the Russian October Revolution, until the dawn of the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, especially after World War II, that the people of the East awakened, broke the shackles of colonialism, struggled to regain life and revive their countries and gradually overcame their poverty and backwardness in order to keep pace with the tide of evolution in the world.

In the history of Vietnam, the socialist revolution must perform an important and weighty task, namely, the task of struggling to abolish the poverty and backwardness that have persisted for 4 centuries and must wage another no less complicated struggle to overcome the chronic stagnation of the old society that still persists in the various fields of life.

## 2. Colonialism, both old and new, and its poisons.

Our country did not experience the period of capitalist development but, under the rule of colonialism, capitalism did develop to a certain degree. Along with the struggle to transform and abolish capitalism, we must wage the struggle to sweep away each poison of colonialism, both old and new, and reactionary, decadent cultural influences from the outside.

## 3. The feudal system and its remnants.

During its decline, the feudal system in our country was a very conservative, militaristic, dictatorial monarchy that subscribed to the Confucian ideology borrowed from China. In the national-democratic revolution, we abolished this antiquated feudal system; however, remnants of it still persist, especially remnants of the thinking and the habits of paternalism, the class structure, arbitrariness, bureaucracy and the influences of Confucianism.

## 4. The remnants of the primitive commune and the Asian mode of production.

The primitive commune and the Asian mode of production based on communal relations of equality and elementary democracy have made their presence felt in the formation and the preservation of some of our people's fine traditions. However, in the course of development of history, this socio-economic structure became outmoded long ago and its preservation, as K. Marx and F. Engels frequently emphasized is a special characteristic of the East as well as one of the causes underlying the stagnation of the East. Our country's rural commune had its own special features but did not stand outside the common course of development.

Partialism and localism, the dividing of the persons within a family or a village in ranks of a class nature, the concept that the commune is the "entity" and that the individual "is only something of an accidental nature within the commune or a constituent component of it"(7), the thinking of averagism and so forth are attributes of the commune that have left a rather deep impression upon life in the countryside. In addition, the remnants of the primitive commune and the Asian mode of production were, for a long time, used by the feudal system and colonialism, as a result of which many new ills became part of village life, such as the village bully, factionalism, the depraved style of life and so forth.

## 5. Small-scale production

Small-scale production, when it was born, represented a step forward in production capacity and played the role as the production cell of society during many periods of history. In the West, between the 16th and the 18th and 19th Centuries, small-scale production was gradually replaced by large-scale, capitalist production, by capitalist heavy industry.

However, in our country, small-scale production has persisted on a widespread basis until this very day and it can be said that our nation's 4,000 year history of building and defending the country have been 4,000 years of domination by small-scale production.

Transforming small-scale production and building the system of large-scale, socialist production are difficult; however, the struggle to overcome the remnants of small-scale production in our thinking, our methods of working, our old habits and so forth will surely be a longer and more complicated struggle.

V.I. Lenin said that we "can (and must) build communism by means of human resources that have been universally corrupted by hundreds and thousands of years of living under slavery, feudalism, capitalism and decentralized, small-scale business, by the war waged by everyone against everyone to secure a place in the market, to achieve a higher price for one's product or one's labor." (8) In the effort to transform and abolish the old world and build the new world, the struggle between the new and old, between that which is good and that which is not, between the progressive and the backward is a complicated, prolonged struggle in every field. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "The struggle between the two ways of life, between the new and the old, the progressive and the backward, the advanced and the reactionary in the fields of culture, ideology and lifestyle is a very complex, day-to-day struggle, is a struggle to which we cannot give light attention." In order to guide and stimulate this struggle, it is necessary to clearly recognize that which is new together with the base upon which the new has been formed and necessary to also recognize that which has become old together with the origin of the old and the base that enables the old to be preserved.

Nguyen Tai Thu:

Along with its history of defending and building the country, our nation has a rice cultural and spiritual history that encompasses many different types and forms of social consciousness and many different forms of activity. This culture has its own unique character, one that vividly reflects the reality of national life. Under the name "civilization," our forefathers took very much pride in their culture. Nguyen Trai said: "A country such as our Dai Viet is truly a civilized country." Le Quy Don, Ngo Thi Nham, Nguyen Du, Cao Ba Quat and many other major writers have wholeheartedly respected and praised the cultural tradition of the nation.

However, confirming the cultural and spiritual history of the nation does not mean that we recognize all of the factors that have created the cultural and

spiritual life of the nation in its history as values. As Lenin said, within a nation's culture, there are always two opposing cultural currents: in our history, our culture has consisted of the culture of an anti-national, anti-popular stratum of dictators and, at the same time, the culture of the people, which has represented the nation, the country and the trend of development of history. In essence, only the culture of the second group can create values.

Values are a category of history that emerged in the 1860's and was created by European bourgeois theoreticians. In Vietnam as well as the other countries of the East, the concept of values did not exist during the feudal period. However, the essence of this concept did exist. Whenever a person was being evaluated or requirements of persons were being established, mention was made of a person's duty. There was no uniform concept of duty; sometimes it was "benevolence" or "benevolence, intelligence and bravery" but, at other times, duty was considered to be "the five cardinal virtues"(benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and sincerity). In short, anything that was consistent with the requirements of a person's duty was considered a value by the feudalists.

Under the colonial and semi-feudal system, especially during the period of U.S.-puppet occupation of South Vietnam, some intellectuals, who were heavily influenced by the value concepts of pragmatism, realism and so forth, exploited, under the guideline of returning to the people, feudal factors and negative factors in our history and considered them to be cultural and spiritual values, to be the essence of the nation. Their concepts and their actions inflicted much harm upon the people and the nation and supported the neo-colonialist system of the United States.

Due to the reasons mentioned above, we feel that it is necessary to define values before searching for the cultural and spiritual values of the nation.

Values refer to those things that are useful and beneficial to the people and the nation, to the development of society; values refer to those things that have satisfied the needs and interests of man in history. The cultural and spiritual values of the nation are the thoughts, concepts, ideas and cultural achievements that have had the effect of stimulating the advancement of history and serving the interests and the needs of the people and the country.

Using the concept presented above as the standard for reviewing our history, we see that the cultural and spiritual history of our nation encompasses values, attributes and factors that the present ideological and cultural revolution must inherit and develop upon.

Some persons consider the traditional spiritual values of the nation to be ethical values. In fact, ethical values are only a part of the nation's system of cultural and spiritual values. In addition to ethical values, this system also encompasses scientific values, philosophical values, aesthetic values and so forth, that is, within each field of spiritual activity of man, values exist, values have been formed.

Examined from the point of view of how they compare with the values of the other nations in the East, the cultural and spiritual values of our nation

have several aspects in common with the values of the nations within the region because, in the course of its existence and development, each and every nation, each and every country has encountered common problems that have had to be solved, consequently, there has been duplication of knowledge and concepts and because the nations of the region has influenced one another through the constant international intercourse that occurs among countries that are located near one another. When the Chinese political system and, immediately thereafter, the Chinese culture were imposed upon Vietnam, we came into direct contact with Chinese culture and took from it what we needed. However, the fact to which attention must be given is that the special attributes of the nation, the special characteristics of the nation exist in no other nation or exist only in a diminished way.

To our nation, attitudes, concepts and actions that support the effort to maintain our independence and support the independent development of the nation are the salient cultural and spiritual values. These values are manifested in many fields. In the field of knowledge, they involve knowing ourselves and the enemy, knowing the conditions and methods needed to win victory over the enemy and knowing the factors that make a nation and the conditions that are needed to confirm the nation's sovereignty. In the field of ethics, values are manifested in acts of bravely sacrificing one's life for the country, in an unyielding attitude in the face of the enemy and in the spirit of sharing joys and hardships in combat. In the field of art, they are the trends, prose, poems, music, paintings and so forth that praise the national spirit, praise the country, praise heroes and heroines who record achievements in building and defending the country, etc.

From another perspective, in order to resist the scheme of assimilation that the Chinese feudal powers pursued for more than 1,000 years and defeat subsequent invasions by them, the Vietnamese realized that they had to be closely linked to one another within their community; therefore, attitudes, concepts and actions that benefit the collective, that benefit the community of Vietnamese are special cultural and spiritual values of the country. Here, in the field of knowledge and awareness, our values are manifested in our sense of obligation to our compatriots, our sense of awareness of our race, "the offspring of the fairy and the dragon," and our awareness that unity is strength; in the concept that "a tree standing by itself is vulnerable, three trees clumped together are strong"; and in the knowledge that the king is a ship and the people are the water, the water can carry the ship along or overturn it. In the field of ethics, our values are expressed in the consciousness and behavior of doing things for the sake of the village, for the sake of the country, for the sake of the development of the community. In the field of art, they are expressed in works, songs and tunes that praise the life of the village, praise the love and labor of country-dwellers and so forth. Every ruling stratum that has known this law and has been able, on the basis of recognizing this law, to reduce the gap between themselves and the people, to mix with the people and to adjust their own interests to be consistent with the interests of all of society has had the support of the community and become an invincible strength.

Closely related to the two matters presented above and the prerequisite to the emergence and the development of trends and schools of thinking concerning the

nation and the community are the reciprocal relationships of a humanistic nature between one person and another. Of course, under the circumstances of a society consisting of opposing classes, oppression, exploitation and this spirit of humanity are always of a class nature; however, in addition to this, the existence of the nation as a developed community that must be protected and must maintain its separate development also demands and causes to emerge within the heart of man a concern for the lives of others, that is, demands altruism. The expressions of this love of man within the people are the concept of loving others as you love yourself and the attitudes that crepe covers the vanity and the persons of a country must love one another. Within the stratum of enlightened rulers who are close to the people and the country, this love of man is expressed in a charitable and just political line, a reduction in the heavy taxes borne by the people, a reduction in the punishment given to persons who make mistakes and so forth. The spirit of humanism has also been expanded to include our attitude toward enemies: once they have surrendered, we have provided them with food and made it possible for them to return to their country instead of killing them.

The cultural and spiritual values of our nation are many but the three mentioned above can be considered the most basic.

Bui Van Nguyen:

Actually, the imagery of the egg is not unique to our nation, having been shared by many nations of Southeast Asia; however, the legend of Au Co's 100 eggs within one shell is unique to our nation. This is a rather old legend of ours, one that is part of the Hong Bang family tales that were transmitted verbally in ancient times and not given written form until the Tran Dynasty, when they were written in Chinese. In fact, some forms of legends about mothers and the life of our people predate the Hong Bang tales. Here, we will not discuss the myth of the Twelve Turtles who created man and all living things, which is similar in significance to the myth in the christian Bible that God created all living things. Instead, let us discuss the myth of the Three Virgin Mothers: the virgin mother of the sky, the virgin mother of the mountains and forests and the virgin mother of the sea.(9) Is the fact that the myth of the Three Virgin Mothers coincides with the three environments of our country (the sky, the land and the sea) merely accidental? The coincidence might indeed be accidental but our "Dao Tam Toa" and the Three Realms did exist very early in our history and it is quite regrettable that they were assimilated by foreign religions and gradually rendered unrecognizable. Moreover, they were mixed with such forms of sorcery as praying and wizardry and underwent a metamorphosis within this cloud of "superstitions." Clearly, the Three Virgin Mothers represented the rudimentary materialist concept of the three realms of the country that have existed for millions of years. Embodied here is the exercise of the right of mastery by the collective of the three mothers of the three realms which, although different, have been and are united within one land, the land of the Hung Kings of bygone years and the present day land of Ho Chi Minh.

This is truly something special! In this ancient motherland with its three harmonious realms of nature, the eggs Au Co hatched into 100 boys and these boys, who sucked their mother's milk, spoke their mother's tongue, remembered

her words and were imbued with her spirit, went their separate ways to build and defend the country.

Mother's words are the words of the homeland, the words of the country,  
Mother's spirit is the spirit of the homeland, the spirit of the country.

Obviously, the four ageless values--motherland, mother's milk, mother tongue and mother's spirit--are the eternal spiritual values that form the essence of our people's love of country and love of their fellow man. There is no shortage of folk legends concerning our love of country and our love of man, such as the legend of Thanh Giong, who fought the An, the legend of the two Trung Sisters, who fought To Dinh and so forth; people throughout our country know about these legends and they are usually referred to in every ancient Vietnamese book we open. Although the words and the description of characters might have differed between verbal and written versions, the essence of this theme has remained constant since ancient times because it is nothing more than an expression of the "four priceless values" mentioned above. In addition, there are countless proverbs and folk songs that reflect the spirit of motherland, mother's milk and mother tongue: "the children of one mother are like the flowers of one plant," "we bleed for one another," "we feel pain when another is hurt," "help someone who falls," "be as close as a pair of hands," etc.

And:

It is wiser for brothers and sisters  
To fight outsiders than to fight amongst themselves.

The spirit of unity of our people within the common community arose at a very early date from the sacred spirit of motherland, mother's milk and mother tongue, beginning within the home, within the family and then spreading to the village, the country and even outside the country. Through the realities of history, this spirit of unity has been strengthened and tempered through diligent labor in production and combat.

Our people have fought solely for the purpose of protecting the homeland, their country. To us, the fatherland is something very sacred. For countless centuries, the tomb of the ancestors of the Hung Kings has stood at the summit of Hy Cuong Mountain, the "mountain of light," and each year, ever since antiquity, the governments of every different regime that we have experienced have held very solemn ceremonies to offer incense in their memory on the anniversary of their death. This tomb might only be of abstract significance but it has played a very profound and large role in teaching and propagandizing our spiritual values. In ancient times, although our forefathers talked about their destiny to bring "all brothers together within one house," their concept of international love was still vague and they lacked the conditions needed to define this concept in detail. However, everyone did have a concrete concept of love of the fatherland and everyone, old and young, male and female alike, considered it a crime to betray the fatherland, considered the crime of "letting the burglar into the house" to be a towering crime, a crime for which those who committed it were held in contempt by the entire family, the entire village and the entire country and were cursed by their descendants for generations. Because he was profoundly

aware of the significance of the tomb of the ancestors of the Hung Kings in teaching tradition, Tran Binh Trong rejected every attempt by the Nguyen-Mong pirates to win him over and insolently replied: "It is better to be the spirit of the dead in the South than the emperor of the North!" This single sentence spoken by a descendant of the Hung Kings was sufficient to satisfy us and dishearten the enemy!

As a result of such a very long process of being tempered and gaining experience in production and combat, the four precious values of motherland, mother's milk, mother tongue and mother's spirit flow in the veins of our people; and, as a result of being imbued with these four values, our people possess many fine human qualities, more than can be described. Actually, each of us can describe a number of the typical virtues we possess, such as the four following basic ones: unity, diligence, generosity and an unyielding spirit. These four virtues are considered to be basic virtues because they reflect the essence of the Vietnamese, we have, since antiquity, always made concessions in order to live in unity and love for one another, have always worked diligently and waged a relentless struggle to defend their country, to build their country.

Le Xuan Vu:

The Vietnamese people, who have an inherent and very profound love of man, consider "man to be the center of the universe" and are more concerned with the affairs of man than with heavenly matters. In the relationship between man and the heavens, we feel that "were it not for man, there would be no God"(Lan Ong) and "there have been many triumphs over nature since antiquity." In the relations among persons, we feel "a living person is worth more than a pile of gold"; "man makes the wealth, wealth does not make the man"; "a man's face is worth more than the surface of 10 rice paddies"; "different melons can be picked from the same arbor"; "it is better to have a full bowl than to struggle for power," etc.

The Vietnamese have a special sense of affection for others and a special sense of duty. The Vietnamese have "a deep sense of affection and a profound sense of duty"; "everything for our love of others, everything for the sake of our duty, for the sake of a full dish of steamed rice for everyone." We are bound one to the other not by the commandments of some saint but by love of our fellow man. In Vietnam, this love has been a shining value since ancient times. "Our many sufferings have caused us to love one another very much"; the Vietnamese are a very altruistic people. In Vietnam, the ancient, popular expression "love others as you love yourself" has deeply permeated the subconscious of the laboring people and become a permanent part of the psychology of the masses. This is not merely a matter of "doing unto others as you would have others do unto you." Nor is it something abstract and remote. What could be more normal than for us to love ourselves? And how much more concrete and profound this love is when we love others as we love ourselves! Marx wrote somewhere that only when he treats Paul as a person who is like himself will Peter begin to treat himself as a person.

This feeling of loving others as you love yourself, this feeling in which the laboring people of our country can be proud, has its basis in history and



society: in the rural communes, in the public farmland, in the villages of the same family and in warm neighborly relations--which were the hallmarks of the ancient primitive commune; in the dozens of centuries of joining efforts to overcome hardships, bravely conquer a natural environment that is both bountiful and harsh and heroically, steadfastly fight barbarous, cruel and obstinate aggressor powers. From their position in life and on the basis of their own background and experience, the laboring people of our country were the authors of a simple, practical and concrete but very profound precept: love others as you love yourself--because if we do not love, help and rescue one another, we cannot survive.

During the thousands of years of feudal domination, the laboring people of our country lived very miserable lives. The policy of plunder pursued by foreign rulers, the cruelty of aggressor forces, the vicious exploitation by aristocratic landowners, the licentious decadence of the royalty, the civil wars among the various feudal groups, the floods, typhoons, broken dikes, droughts and crop failures, all of these manmade and natural disasters combined with the feudal order and its ethics weighed heavily upon the laboring people. In the face of cruel injustice, they tired of their human condition. Deprived of their right to live and trampled upon in body and spirit, they loved themselves and loved others who shared their plight, loved others as they loved themselves and sympathized with one another to the point where "the entire stable stopped eating when one horse fell ill" and were ready to "share their food and clothing" with one another in the spirit "the whole leaf covers the torn leaf" and "older sister helping younger sister to her feet when she falls." Because, "yourself" was always being threatened by foreign aggression and being pulled between freedom and slavery, between life and death. "Yourself" traded a bowl of sweat for a bowl of rice, lived from hand to mouth and wore rags. "yourself" could not break the chains of the feudalists. "Others as Yourself" were too numerous to mention: in the neighboring hamlets and villages, within the country and even the people of neighboring countries ruled by exploiters had been driven into the tragedy of war.

This intense and genuine thinking of loving others as you love yourself was maintained and handed down through the ages and has become one of the fine, old traditions of the entire nation of Vietnam.

Rich in love for their fellow man, whenever someone has been trampled upon, the laboring people of our country have not restricted themselves to merely complaining about their lot, rather, they have, ever since antiquity, arisen in struggle to win back their right to live. Constantly facing the dangers of aggression, annexation and assimilation, our people very clearly understand that their right to live is, above everything else, the right to be the citizen of an independent and free country; the greatest social issue of our people has been the survival of the fatherland and the nation; and the first ethical standards of our people are patriotism and laying down one's life for the country. Therefore, throughout the several thousand years of their history, our people have, on the basis of their deep love of their fellow man, constantly waged an unrelenting struggle against foreign aggression, regardless of its source. As a result, in Vietnam, the patriot and the lover of his fellow man are virtually one and the same person: being patriotic and



saving the country are acts that reflect humanism and love of one's fellow man; and, in order to express humanism and love of one's fellow man, it is first of all necessary to be patriotic and save the country. If the country is not independent, the people cannot be free or happy. The Dien Hong Conference held in 1283, at which 10,000 persons shouted the word "fight" in unison, is still the beautiful and bright symbol of Vietnam's traditional patriotism, national spirit and love of others.

Our nation's inherent love of others is not only the foundation of our people's ardent patriotism, but is also the foundation of our people's ardent desire for peace and friendship among nations, a desire made evident in the Thach Sanh orchestra and earthenware bowls and in sparing the lives of hundreds of thousands of enemy troops who were captured or surrendered and providing them with safe passage back to their country.

Having lived in shame and misery, the laboring people of our country have, since antiquity, thirsted for happiness, freedom and justice. This desire has never been extinguished, has never cooled. To the contrary, at times when our people have faced severe and long-term oppression and exploitation, this desire has grown even larger and stronger. It can be said that Miss Tam is the personification of this desire: although she encountered numerous difficulties and hardships, was imprisoned for years by the enemy and threatened with death, she obstinately arose in struggle, resumed her life and won back her happiness. To our laboring people, happiness is, above everything else, a life in which they are free, well fed and at peace. Their dream is to be "free from care," to have a flock of chickens filling the yard, a fat, round pig on the hoof, a healthy baby being suckled by his mother...as depicted in folk paintings. They demand the happiness of a pure, natural and beautiful married life as sung about in their ballads. They have confidence that good will triumph over evil, that right will triumph over wrong, that one good turn deserves another and that the trampled upon and suffering laboring people will ultimately achieve wealth and live in happiness as in the ancient legends.

However, in the feudal society of bygone years, the laboring people's desire for happiness was never realized. Following brave and tenacious struggles against foreign aggressors to win and maintain the independence and sovereignty of the country, they were still oppressed and exploited and had to wage another fight against this unjust "fate." They scoffed at the feudal class structure of "scholar first, serf second"; they extolled labor and placed the laborer at the center of their lives. They opposed feudal government and military officials and criticized, denounced and verbally attacked feudal ethics and politics and feudalists themselves, sometimes through the sarcastic laughter of a Tieu Lam, sometimes through the allusion of a fable and sometimes by directly showing them for what they were.

The struggle waged by our laboring people to win the right to live was not limited to verbal resistance, denunciation and attacks. The weapon of criticism could not, of course, take the place of criticism by weapons. Throughout the history of the feudal system, especially during the centuries in which it experienced serious crisis, the laboring people, primarily the peasants, in addition to being prepared to arise in struggle against foreign

aggression to save the country and save their homes, staged continuous uprisings to win back their human rights and change their fate.

Quang Trung was not the only one who raised the banner of saving the people. However, the limitations imposed by history and the classes prevented them from establishing a new and more beautiful system. Practically all of their uprisings met with defeat and any successes they enjoyed only resulted in the elevation of someone to king and the reimposition by him of the feudal system. Nevertheless, with each uprising they forced the ruling class to pay more attention to their lives and, more importantly, they were fighting for the poor, for equality and social justice. They not only dreamed, they took action to achieve their dreams. History has recorded numerous uprisings by peasants "to rob from the rich and give to the poor" in the style of the Ngo Be Uprising in Hai Duong. The most representative was the Tay Son movement in which the "enemy showed kindness to the poor."

Our nation's inherent love of others is imbued with the spirit of optimism and full confidence in man.

The virtues of perseverance, diligence and creativity of our country's laboring people are due, on one hand, to the extremely difficult and straitened circumstances in which they have lived; on the other hand, however, they serve to prove the very strong optimism and confidence in man held by the laboring people of our country. Not wanting to die from starvation or cold, our people, who have been tempered in hardships and difficulties, have fought and triumphed over floods, drought, broken dikes, heavy rainstorms, earthquakes, the ravages of war and so forth not only in the brave spirit displayed by Lac Long Quan in mythology, but also with the perseverance with which the mountain god fought the god of the sea, with the tenacity expressed in the saying "continue to bail as long as water remains."

This optimism and full confidence in man are even more clearly evident in the social struggle. "A person who possesses resolve will surely accomplish what he sets out to accomplish, a house with a firm foundation will surely be a strong house." Unwilling to suffer the loss of their country and perish, our people bravely and resourcefully struggled against the enemy until the end, regardless of the sacrifices required. Therefore, during the 30 years in which the Nguyen Army invaded our country three consecutive times, our people were determined to fight and win each time even though they were forced by the enemy to temporarily withdraw from Thang Long each time. It was this perseverance, this optimism and this confidence in his own strength that helped Le Loi during the 10 years of "pain, anguish and bitterness," during which the Linh Son troops once only had enough food for several weeks" and "the Khoi Huyen troops numbered less than one unit," to continue to devote his efforts to bringing the great cause to victory over cruelty; that helped Truong Dinh and his western troops "who suffered many misfortunes, to close the gap before they could escape"; that helped Phan Dinh Phung resist the enemy for 10 years without suffering a loss of fighting spirit, etc.

According to the laboring people of Vietnam, the just cause must triumph over evil. This is not merely an aspiration, not merely a dream. The truth is that our laboring people, primarily our peasants, continuously arose to fight

oppression and exploitation under the feudal system and won some victories. They were the force that determined whether each dynasty would prosper or decline, the force that determined victory in each war against foreign aggression. Although they were not fully conscious of this role that they played, the realities of their struggle permitted them to feel confident in the inevitable victory of their just cause. Therefore, despite temporary setbacks, they continued to be optimistic and confident, fought battle after battle and continued their struggle until victory was won without ever losing their spirit. This was clearly reflected in their legends: in their struggle for a beautiful life, they did not give up in the face of suffering and hardships, did not surrender in the face of defeat, did not give up hope when disappointed, did not lose faith in the midst of dark situations and always struggled to move forward. All of our legends have such "endings." A proverb reminds us: "Fight until all hope is lost."

Van Tao:

The most important, overriding traditional cultural and spiritual value of our nation is the spirit of waging a tenacious and unyielding struggle for the independence, freedom and happiness of the nation, a struggle to conquer nature, transform society and build a prosperous and happy life for man. Speaking only with regard to the social struggle, our nation has the patriotic tradition of struggling against foreign aggression and protecting our national independence and the democratic tradition of struggling to protect the rights of the working people against all exploitation and oppression.

In the recent revolutionary struggle, due to the need to constantly struggle against foreign aggression, we upheld our tradition of patriotic struggle well. Today, we must continue to uphold and enhance this tradition not only because it is a traditional cultural value of our nation that is deserving of pride, but also because we must still simultaneously brandish the two banners of national independence and socialism.

However, the question that faces us as we build socialism, that is, as we wage the class struggle and the democratic struggle in a new and higher stage is how to develop upon this tradition.

In our history, the democratic struggle has, at certain times, been unified with the national struggle, as was the case in the struggle against the ruling feudal aristocracy; however, there have also been times when they have not been unified. In the history of Vietnam, there have been feudal kings who suppressed the peasantry and murdered meritorious officials; however, there have also been kings who recorded feats of arms in resisting foreign aggression and are praised by the people to this very day (such as Le Loi, for example). This is not merely a matter of stories from our past, rather, our viewpoint concerning this matter must still be discussed and questions concerning it must be resolved in the present socialist revolution. Specifically, what should be done about the ruins of the tomb of the patriot Nguyen Mau Kien, a feudal official (who was murdered by An) from Thai Binh Province? During the period when we were beginning to establish cooperatives, the cooperative there considered Nguyen Mau Kien to be a feudal official who was not worthy of having a tomb and a temple; consequently, it demolished his

tomb and turned his temple into a public office. However, Nguyen Mau Kien's grandchild petitioned the National Assembly and the National Assembly decided to restore the history Nguyen Mau Kien ruins because he was a patriot who resisted the French. Despite this, there are still two divergent viewpoints concerning Nguyen Mau Kien in his native land: those who subscribe to the viewpoint of the national struggle maintain that his tomb should be restored; those who subscribe to the viewpoint of the democratic struggle maintain that it should not be restored. This raises the question of what should we inherit and what should we criticize? This is particularly true today, now that patriotism is not only closely linked to socialism, but must be considered one and the same as the love of socialism, as was emphasized in the resolution of the 4th Party Congress.

Whereas, in the struggle for national independence, we had to fully uphold our patriotic tradition, as we advance to socialism, we must fully uphold our tradition of democratic struggle and, to do this, we must criticize the feudal class, criticize even the national heroes within the feudal class, point out their negative aspects and criticize even Tran Hung Dao, Nguyen Trai and so forth for their class limitations. However, the question of whether or not we should do this has yet to be answered.

As regards inheriting the work tradition in our history, we would like to touch upon two matters, diligent labor and collective labor.

We often praise our people for their tradition of diligent labor. In fact, diligence is part of the work tradition of the small-scale producer, of the private farmer, of small-scale production in which "diligence compensates for ability."

In small-scale production, this tradition has played a certain role. However, in large-scale, socialist production it is scientific, technical labor that determines high productivity. At present, although the quality of labor is not in opposition to diligence, it need not always go hand in hand with diligence. The diligent workstyle itself embodies stagnation and conservatism: "A jack of all trades, a master of none," that is, a person who knows many trades but is skilled in none quickly becomes useless. Therefore, today, we must praise and emphasize creative, scientific, technical labor and should no longer make much mention of the tradition of diligent labor. It is a tradition of peasants, of small-scale producers and growers of wet rice; it is a tradition which the working class, instead of inheriting and developing upon, must revolutionize, must replace and negate by means of a new work tradition, the tradition of working in an intelligent, creative manner, a highly scientific and technical manner, etc.

The tradition of collective labor has evolved through an entire historic process:

--There was the commune style collective labor with its very low labor productivity, a productivity that was only the sum of the labor performed by individuals. However, this collective labor did have the effect of accelerating the development of production and raising labor productivity within a specific period of history.

--There was the collective labor of the individual peasant, which took the form of mutual assistance and help or, as a result of the heritage of commune labor, took the form of hunting clubs in the mountains, fishing collectives along the seacoast and so forth. This collective labor also assumed the form of voluntary associations established as a result of the need to struggle against natural disasters, such as labor to control floods, build dams and build sluices. The great flood control project of our nation with its more than 2,500 kilometers of dikes represents voluntary collective labor performed by one generation after another for the sake of the common good.

This second form of collective labor can be incorporated within socialism. However, this tradition of collective labor cannot be inherited in the way that the Social-Democrats in the Russian Revolution at the end of the 19th Century thought it could. They maintained that the Russian muzhik could advance to socialism on the basis of the collective nature of the Russian commune. This viewpoint was anti-scientific and actually negated the revolutionary-vanguard position and role of the working class. The socialist collective labor of the working class must differ in substance from the previous forms of collective labor, that is, must be a revolutionary collective, a scientific collective, a creative collective.

First, a collective must be a revolutionary collective, that is, it must dare to think and act, must cast aside all that was backward and stagnant within the old forms of collectives. Secondly, it must be scientific and creative. It must replace the ignorant, stagnant and conservative collective. Sometimes, because of ignorance, a project was constructed by 100 persons when it could have been constructed by 5 or 10 intelligent and creative persons. Today, as we advocate making use of the impact of joint-sector science, these joint sectors must be joint sectors of skilled experts from each sector in order to achieve synchronization and record accomplishments of major significance. A joint sector of ignorant, conservative persons is a useless thing. Today, therefore, it is not that we must hold many meetings and obtain many opinions, which is collective work, nor that we must establish many joint sectors, which is an effective measure, rather, the basic requirement we face is to train many experts in all sectors, respect their labor and utilize their labor well in developing the role played by scientific joint sectors, which is the only way efficiency can be achieved. Here, the establishment of the Academy of Sciences is a necessary and pressing matter.

Whereas, in the field of culture, inheritance always goes hand in hand with selectivity, revolution and development, in the field of art, a different process can occur, that is, we can inherit something without changing it, even try to restore old cultural and art values. The recasting of our forefathers' bronze drums is one example. Today, how can we restore their metal refining techniques and traditional skill in construction and ornamentation precisely the way they were then? We have not been able to do this and if we did demand that this tradition be modernized and updated, we might destroy the tradition itself. Within this field, there is the phenomenon of "the son not being better than his father" but this does not make for a house "without happiness." We are not better than our forefathers because, in the history of art, the artisan labor of the pre-industrial civilizations has unique values of its own, values that are superior to those of capitalist and socialist

industrial civilization and superior to modern industrial societies in terms of the skill and cleverness they represent. They were the skill and cleverness of the artisan technology of ancient civilizations, technology which present day man can only try to restore, restore, if he is lucky, to a level no higher than the original level of achievement. In the world, the works of art of the periods of the ancient Greek and Roman cultures include certain works that we can revere and try to recreate but which we cannot exceed because we lack the creative talent, such as the famous painting of an Italian woman by Leonardo da Vinci(1452-59), for example. This does not mean that history has come to a standstill, that things were better yesterday than they are today. Today, we can create things that are larger and more beautiful. However, we cannot re-create those things for which the necessary historic conditions have passed and will never recur. Therefore, it would also be a mistake in this matter of inheriting our art heritage to only emphasize revolution and modernization but not give any attention to preservation, restoration and re-creation.

Also in this field, we should give additional thought to inheriting the customs, rituals and ceremonies of the old lifestyles, that is, give additional thought to which customs, rituals and ceremonies we should preserve and restore, if they are still of value, instead of merely updating or discarding them. Specifically, in the customs regarding coffins, marriages, funerals and the offering of sacrifices there are certain things that are immoral and must be cast aside; however, not everything is immoral and need be cast aside, such as the funeral practice of writing eulogies in couplet form. Should this practice be maintained or abolished? Some persons maintain that it is sometimes better to place couplets on expensive floral wreaths. This is of spiritual significance as well as a practical economic matter in as much as the cloth used for this purpose can be used again but the flowers wither and are wasted. Of course, in the future, when prosperity is ours, more and more fresh flowers will be used on both joyous and sad occasions. However, today, there is still a shortage of flowers and it is better to use cloth. In the science of history, eulogies in the couplet form have been very valuable, such as the couplets spoken by the patriot Dang Thai Than as a eulogy to Tang Bat Ho, which is still a priceless historic document:

"He fought them with his dagger, fought them with his mind,  
Fought them with his pen and was determined to fight them with his sword."

We have attached much importance to developing upon our long-standing patriotic tradition; however, we have not taken appropriate steps to develop upon our new traditions, such as our revolutionary and resistance war traditions. Lenin and the Russian Communist Party (B) considered it more important to develop upon revolutionary tradition than national tradition. Lenin extolled the tradition of democratic struggle of the Russian nation, praised the revolutionary democrats of the 19th Century, praised the proletarian revolutionary tradition of the 1905 revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution in which the proletariat participated, calling it the symbol of the entire period of the enlightened East, and praised the tradition of the great October Revolution.

In our country today, we have, even in recent years, extolled the tradition of national struggle when celebrating the anniversaries of Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Hue and so forth. However, we have not appropriately extolled revolutionary traditions, from the Nghe Tinh soviet to the August Revolution, and, in particular, the traditions of the wars of resistance against France and the United States.

We are happy to note that this thinking of ours (first proposed in June, 1982) is consistent with the thinking of the leaders of our party and state. Recently, on 28 August 1982, I had the good fortune to meet with Chairman Pham Van Dong, who gave me some valuable advice. Talking about inheriting tradition, he reminded me: "Why do historians not write the history of the war of resistance? Anniversaries are the same way, there are many anniversaries of things that happened in ancient times but the wars of resistance have virtually been forgotten. Something must be done to correct this situation. You and your colleagues have written very little about the wars of resistance. In the Soviet Union, much is taught about the great war of national defense. We have not done enough in this regard."

#### FOOTNOTES

\* See TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 11-1982.

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Party Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, p 94.
2. K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin: "British Rule in India" from "On Pre-Capitalist Society," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 62.
3. Ibid., p 64.
4. K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin: "Letter to Vera Datsulit" from "On Pre-Capitalist Society," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 334.
5. K. Marx and F. Engels: Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 47.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Great Initiatives," Collected Works, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 18.
7. K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin: "The Forms Preceding Capitalist Production" from "On Pre-Capitalist Society," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 75.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Small Pictures That Shed Light on Matters of Major Importance" from "On Culture and Literature," Literary Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 372.

9. In folk literature, they are also called Tam Toa Thanh Mau or Tam Phu Thanh Mau: the virgin mother of the sky, the virgin mother of the mountains and forests and the virgin mother of the sea. The term "Phu" denotes an administrative area, an administrative unit and also denotes a palace in which the ruler resides, consequently, it also means the temple of the Virgin Mother. Consequently, the three temples of the Virgin Mothers are abbreviated as Dao Tam Toa or Dao Tam Phu.

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10 YEARS AGO TODAY, OUR ARMY AND PEOPLE WON VICTORY OVER THE AIR OFFENSIVE CONDUCTED BY THE B-52 FLYING FORTRESSES OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 46-51

[Article by Thanh Tin]

[Text] Reviewing a Highpoint in the Historic Struggle

A full 10 years have passed since those 12 days and nights of intense combat during which our army and people fought the massive air raid carried out by the B-52 flying fortresses of the bellicose leaders of the United States.

A person usually has to stand a certain distance away from an imposing mountain in order to see its full beauty from all perspectives. The passage of 10 years has provided sufficient time for us to more clearly see the brilliant pinnacle of victory that was reached in the historic struggle between our people and the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The Key, Decisive Battle in Achieving the Target of "Driving Off the Americans"

"Drive off the Americans, bring down the puppets!" The sayings of President Ho Chi Minh were always inspiring, concise, profound and easy to remember. These eight words summarized the two strategic objectives of our army and people in the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

These two objectives were very closely linked to each other because the U.S. imperialists were relying upon the puppet army and government in a vain attempt to impose their rule within our country; conversely, the puppets were clinging to the U.S. imperialists as a base of support, as a source of money and weapons; they were also clinging to the U.S. army, to their equipment, weapons and firepower in a vain attempt to avoid annihilation on the battlefield.

The order in which these objectives were to be met was also very correct: drive off the Americans first; once the Americans had been driven off, the puppets would surely fall in the face of the offensive blows by our army and people.

Making "driving off the Americans" the first strategic objective was a very correct and wise decision. At the time, the U.S. imperialists ruled a vast country possessing abundant economic and military might, a country with a population of more than 200 million, with more than 2 million troops in uniform and 12 million more that could be mobilized. We could not establish for ourselves the requirement of annihilating all the expeditionary forces of the United States.

"Driving off the Americans" made full use of the position of the revolution in our times by mobilizing the conscience of all mankind, including American working people, to support the just cause of our people and strongly dividing the political powers within the United States with a view toward highly isolating the bellicose leaders within the White House in order to force them, regardless of how stubborn they might be, to request the withdrawal of their severely impaired expeditionary forces.

Fighting the enemy and negotiating; launching strong attacks in order to force the enemy to sit down and negotiate with us; launching even stronger attacks when negotiations were being held in order to give more weight to our diplomatic effort; providing the enemy with a way out by means of negotiations, that is, accepting defeat without losing face; and not pushing the enemy into a frustrated position from which they might do something reckless. This was the correct and creative line that led to victory.

In mid-1972, by means of our steadfast fight and the continuous victories won on the battlefield, together with our determined struggle at the negotiating table, we forced the U.S. imperialists to agree to the withdrawal of all U.S. troops. Of course, they obstinately schemed to "leave but remain behind" by propping up the puppet government through their over ambitious "Vietnamization" program. In Paris, they agreed to sign the Agreement in late October, 1972. However, they then changed their minds, broke their promise and demanded the revision of more than 40 points within the agreed upon draft.

They did this because they had suffered heavy losses and were panic-stricken. They did this because the articles of the agreement were very disadvantageous to them; because they clearly felt that their total defeat in Vietnam and Indochina would accelerate the decline of the position and power. An arrogant superpower that had never experienced defeat in any war now had to bow its head and accept a shameful and ignominious defeat. It was then that U.S. President Nixon recklessly lashed out in a vain attempt to avoid the tragic fate awaiting them.

The U.S. aggressors escalated the war to its highest level. This level represented the pinnacle of conventional warfare: every B-52 flying fortress within the U.S. Strategic Air Command was mobilized to carry out high density, carpet bombing attacks against densely populated areas in Hanoi, Haiphong, Tay Nguyen and so forth in a vain attempt to break the will of the opposition, force the opposition to yield, to accept a U.S. style peace and reverse the desperate situation in which the Americans found themselves.

Our army and people immediately replied to this criminal escalation of the war by the bellicose leaders of the United States. Their reply was immediate,

positive and appropriate. The people of the capital heroically replied; the people of the entire North heroically replied; the people of the entire South immediately and heroically coordinated with us. The flying fortresses of the United States were reduced to rubble. One after another of the arrogant crews that fly them bowed their heads and were imprisoned. Our air force emulated our missile troops. The low-altitude air defense network of the militia and self-defense forces closely coordinated with the high-altitude air defense network. The entire world voiced its indignation over the cruelty and duplicity of the imperialist ringleaders. On 26 December 1972, Pentagon experts had to acknowledge that the loss of 3 percent of the B-52's engaged in the bombing was an unacceptable loss rate to the U.S. Strategic Air Force. Nixon had to bring this air offensive filled with crimes to a conclusion because he failed to accurately measure the stiff resistance by the opposition and how effective this resistance would be; he also had no idea that world opinion would voice such an immediate or strong protest.

Kissinger was forced to take himself to Paris and sign his initials to the Agreement stipulating that all U.S. forces had to be withdrawn. The journalists present at that time observed: the conference room was silent but the sound of U.S. flying fortresses being shot from the sky over Hanoi could still be heard.

How true this was. The brilliant feat of arms called "Dien Bien Phu in the sky" recorded at the end of December, 1972, was the brilliant pinnacle of our feats of arms, was the battle that caused the Paris Agreement to be signed and forced the United States to withdraw all of its troops, thereby ushering in a period of a new test of strength. This was the period in which our army and people charged forth in the midst of victory to implement their next strategy, bringing down the puppets, thereby advancing the glorious cause of resisting the United States for national salvation to total victory. The historic struggle between the people of Vietnam and the U.S. imperialists ended with the people of Vietnam winning total, complete victory.

#### American Military Theory Becomes Bankrupt and Reaches a Deadlock

The reactionary military theory of the U.S. imperialists was primarily based on the strength of the technology at their disposal. Because capitalism has developed for several hundred years, they were able to make use of the most modern discoveries and achievements of science and technology. They thought that their long-range B-52 flying fortresses with their eight jet engines that flew at altitudes of tens of thousands of meters, dropped several dozen tons of bombs, were escorted by fighter aircraft and supported by metallic chaff that enveloped them in a network of interference would be the weapon that would strike fear in the hearts of the opposition and force the opposition to kneel in submission. The masterful experts at the Pentagon calculated that the B-52's would "inflict terrible torture" upon the Vietnamese and deliver the knockout blow, regardless of how stiff their resistance was. The B-52 was the embodiment of power, the embodiment of inviolability and was the tool of genocide of the American military in conventional war. This was symbolized in the bolts of lightning emblazoned as an emblem on the fuselage of each B-52; they were supposed to hit the opposition before they knew what happened to them, as though they had been hit by lightning.

On the other hand, American military theory was implemented on the basis of an incorrect assessment of the nature of man. According to them, man is a hedonist by nature who loves life, fears death, is cowardly and will beg to have his life saved. Tortured by the B-52, the miraculous weapon of decisive strategic significance, the Vietnamese would have to surrender because there was no way they could resist; they would be killed and threatened with genocide by the B-52 carpet bombings. They lived in a poor country, a country with no capital, a country with meager material bases; the B-52 carpet bombings would destroy their lives and property and their will to resist would surely be broken. This was the law of "perfect logic," the logic of the imperialist ringleaders, the logic of measuring others by one's own standards.

In terms of both theory and practice, the glorious victory won by the army and people of Vietnam by retaliating against the U.S. flying fortresses and bringing the B-52's crashing down into black mud, was further proof of the truth that, in the field of military affairs, man is still the most decisive factor in war. The Vietnamese, persons who possess a high will to fight and an unyielding spirit, knew how to find the spiritual and material strength they needed and developed effective methods of fighting; as a result, they shot down B-52's, captured the U.S. pilots of these strategic aircraft and removed this American idol from its exalted position, thereby displaying the unequalled character of the new man, a man who had become the master of his own life, the master of his weapons and equipment in the tenacious fight against the cruelest imperialist powers.

The brilliant victory won by our army and people over the U.S. flying fortresses was further proof of the truth of our times: an unyielding and intelligent that is determined to fight, that knows how to fight, that is skilled in military science and military art and that skillfully coordinates the struggles in the military, political and diplomatic fields and unites with progressive mankind, even the people of the opposition's country, can effectively retaliate against the most insane escalations of the war by the enemy and win glorious victory.

Following the heavy defeat of the B-52 strategic offensive, the U.S. imperialists were forced to sign the Paris Agreement and agree to withdraw all U.S. combat troops. This was the heaviest, the most bitter and the most shameful military and political defeat of the U.S. imperialists in the nearly 200 year existence of the United States.

Since this defeat of an historic nature, the U.S. military has become deeply mired in frustration. Their deterrent strategy has failed because they have no other options within their storehouse of strategic weapons with which to wage conventional wars against unyielding nations on the various continents! And, as regards unleashing a nuclear war, their superiority in this area was lost during the period of the Vietnam war and they are not about to commit nuclear suicide.

This explains why, throughout the past 10 years, the U.S. imperialists have no longer been able to threaten the nations of the third world as they once did, did not dare to engage in direct armed intervention in Ethiopia, Angola, or Mozambique and have not dared to use U.S. combat forces or the tactical and

strategic air forces of the United States in Nicaragua or El Salvador, in Kampuchea or Afghanistan as they did 10 years ago in the Dominican Republic, in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

The threat posed by the U.S. imperialists through their deterrent strategy truly evaporated with the outstanding defeat of the hundreds of U.S. B-52 flying fortresses in the skies over North Vietnam exactly 10 years ago.

The Collaboration Between the U.S. Imperialists and the Beijing Expansionists Has Reached a Deadend

As everyone knows, the criminal escalation of the war to its greatest height ever by the super-hawk Nixon was carried out at a time when Sino-American collaboration had become a reality; the U.S. imperialists were not at all concerned about being denounced and opposed by China as they were in the past when the Beijing authorities railed against them. Washington even received tacit encouragement from Beijing under a policy that reeked of selfish interests and treachery: "Keep your hands off us and we won't bother you." And, in 1972, as everyone knows, the hot-tempered hoodlum brandishing the B-52 lightning bolts was the honored guest of Beijing, a guest for whom Beijing rolled out the red carpet and arranged a 21 gun salute; his new friend gave him the green light for the planned criminal escalation of the war to its highest level ever. Among the "common interests" emphasized by Washington and Beijing in the Shanghai communique were Washington's plan to bring Vietnam to its knees and the ambition of the Beijing expansionists to weaken Vietnam. They had joined hands in a crime without parallel to oppose the Vietnam revolution until the end; they also made a political deal with each other behind the backs of the Vietnamese.

By escalating the war to its highest level ever, Nixon showed his most barbarous side and immediately brought upon himself the strong denunciation and the contempt of all progressive mankind; at the same time, Beijing, by gleefully standing on the sidelines watching the crimes of the imperialist hoodlum being committed, showed itself to be shamelessly unfaithful to genuine revolutionaries throughout the world and brought upon itself the slings and arrows or righteous public opinion throughout the world, especially within the third world countries that were constantly courted by China.

It is very interesting to note that since our army and people dealt proper blows to Sino-American collaboration in late December, 1972, the scorecard of the "achievements" of the imperialists and the expansionists shows nothing but a succession of defeats.

The Paris Agreement forced the United States to withdraw all of its troops and brought to an end the most costly expedition in U.S. history, an expedition that was a total defeat in every respect. Beijing was also dumbstruck because, at the bottom of their hearts, they wanted a rather large contingent of U.S. forces to remain in Vietnam in order to prevent the total victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

Two years later, when the Saigon puppet army collapsed in a heap in the face of Washington's panic and impotence, the expansionist leaders in Beijing were

crestfallen and cried bitter tears! They wanted the puppet army and the puppet government to exist on a permanent basis in order to prevent the formation of a unified socialist Vietnam, which would constitute an imposing wall thwarting their dream to expand into Southeast Asia.

Six years later, the cruel Khmer Rouge were toppled by genuine Kampuchean revolutionaries united with the Vietnamese revolution. Washington and Beijing once again trembled and felt pangs of bitterness. Following in the tracks of Nixon's wrecked vehicle and with the encouragement of Washington, the Beijing expansionists sent 600,000 troops to invade Vietnam; they were dealt proper blows and these defeated soldiers were forced to withdraw. New defeats have made Sino-American collaboration even more evident.

By participating in a criminal collaboration, betraying the world revolution, betraying the Chinese people and betraying the ideals of communism, which they still proclaim, the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles have led themselves down a deadend street. They have lost all prestige and honor in the eyes of the world revolutionary movement. The Chinese people, who possess a revolutionary tradition, have raised major questions and demand that they be clearly answered: who are China's friends and whom does China consider to be an enemy? Is China still a socialist country or has it become something else and is not a socialist country any longer? Is the Chinese Communist Party still a communist party or has it become some other kind of party? These are stern questions that strike at the heart of the criminal Sino-American collaboration to oppose and undermine the world revolution and go against the three surging revolutionary currents of our times.

#### When the Enfeebled Hoodlum Becomes a Teacher

U.S. President Richard Nixon has gone down in history as the person who escalated the war to the highest level and who suffered the heaviest defeat on the Vietnam battlefield; at the same time, he was the odious criminal involved in the Watergate scandal. These two quagmires in domestic and foreign affairs showed Nixon's true self: cruel, shameless, lacking in intelligence and culture, in short, the symbol of the American political system in the midst of its comprehensive crisis. History also clearly records the cursed crimes committed by the American president and commander-in-chief during 12 days and nights in late December, 1972, when, in a fit of rage, he dispatched hundreds of B-52 flying fortresses to commit genocide and sow destruction in Hanoi, Haiphong and other areas. Yet, this criminal has yet to lie silent in the trash heap of U.S. history. He is praised and revered as a teacher by the incumbent U.S. President, Ronald Reagan. After resigning, Nixon had time to ponder the bitter defeats suffered by America in the war of aggression in Vietnam and tried to extract from them lessons for U.S. political circles. Nixon has written a book entitled "The Real War," in which he presents himself as the wise teacher of U.S. presidents in the post-Vietnam period. The greatest lesson taught by Nixon to Reagan is: be tougher(!), be more reckless(!), confront the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, confront Vietnam and all revolutionary forces of the world. The most famous words that Nixon has for Reagan are: "The U.S. president must have the courage to do things to which he previously never gave thought." These are words that encourage recklessness, encourage recklessness bordering on insanity.

Reagan has done precisely as he has been instructed by Nixon. The White House and the Pentagon have raised military expenditures to record levels. America has pushed Israel into a large-scale war in Lebanon. America urged the British government to launch the expedition to invade the Malvinas Islands of Argentina, thereby bringing upon itself the indignation of all South America; America is also opposing the country of revolutionary Nicaragua and supporting the Salvadoran reactionary government in its desperate opposition to the patriotic struggle being waged by the people. Reagan has also recklessly talked about preparing for an atomic war in Europe.

Worthy of mention at this time is the fact that, exactly 10 years after their insane escalation of the war and their shameful defeat in Vietnam, the U.S. aggressors have still not awakened; rather, they still want to engage in even more reckless adventures in all regions of the world. Nixon's act of gangsterism of using B-52 flying fortresses as a tool with which to commit crimes is being elevated by the U.S. President to the overriding policy of the White House: create tension and aggressively confront all revolutionary forces of our times.

Ten years ago, America met with bitter defeat after the criminal escalation of the war to its highest level was crushed and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops had to board ships or planes and return to their country. Then, the puppet army was crushed and the U.S. ambassador and U.S. generals and colonels fled in panic, thus bringing to an end the most tragic chapter in American history.

Today, 10 years later, America has experienced scores of new defeats in Asia, in the Near East, the Middle East, Africa, Central America and South America.

By following in the tracks of Nixon's overturned vehicle and elevating reckless acts of war that were totally defeated to a policy of obstinate confrontation, the Reagan administration will surely only court new bitter defeats. The very heavy defeat of the Republican Party in the recent mid-term election serves as another stern warning. The struggle against the arms race being waged by very large strata of the people is shaking the United States and western Europe.

An aggressive, bellicose policy will only lead the obstinate imperialists to new heavy defeats. The proper lesson that was taught to the U.S. imperialists exactly 10 years ago in the skies over the capital Hanoi and North Vietnam retains its value today in deterring the hotheads, heads so hot that they border on insanity, of the American warmongerers.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: THE THEFT OF PUBLIC PROPERTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 52-54, 61

[Article by Trung Thanh]

[Text] As regards the negative phenomena that now exist in our society, we must discuss the theft of public property.

There are some who think: "the theft of public property is a crime and those who commit this crime must be sent for transformation or thrown in prison; do this, and there will be no need for lengthy discussion!"

If only it were that simple!

When treating a disease, it is necessary to treat the cause, not the symptom. To abolish theft, we must eradicate everything that causes theft to emerge and spread. Therefore, in addition to employing the tough measures of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in addition to improving our economic management, we absolutely must discuss the ideological side of the issue.

The vast majority of our party members and people detest theft. However, there are some persons who are not resolutely opposed to theft because they do not fully realize how extensive it is at present. This might be because they do not have a deep understanding of the realities of life or because they maintain a simplistic point of view and cannot visualize the black hearts and the malicious tricks of the "rats with human faces."

Of course, the virtue of integrity is a basic virtue of our party, of our society. However, we must realize that theft is on the increase and is a social issue with which we must be concerned. We must concern ourselves with this issue because the thieves are not only professional hoodlums, not only a number of ordinary citizens and not only some low ranking personnel of the state, but they are also party members, especially cadres and persons of position and authority. There have been persons in charge of corporations, enterprises, wharves, storage yards, warehouses, stores, transportation lines and so forth that have masterminded the theft of public property. We must concern ourselves with this issue because it not only involves cases of theft being performed by individual thieves, but also involves cases of theft



committed by many persons at different agencies and within different localities who conspire with one another and employ sophisticated methods to commit theft. At times, they look for ways to offer bribes in order to commit theft. And, to conceal their theft and bribery, they intimidate the masses and they suppress and harm honest persons. We must concern ourselves with this issue because thieves continue to live lives of luxury and have not been prosecuted under the law because they have cleverly concealed their crimes or have an "umbrella" protecting them! We must concern ourselves with this issue because some cases of theft have been political in nature, have involved enemy participation and been designed to sabotage our economy or disrupt or social order. The press and radio stations on the central and local levels have reported many cases of theft, more than a few of which cause us to be angry with ourselves. Were someone to make a detailed accounting, we would find that the total amounts of stolen money, materials, goods, grain and so forth reported in the press add up to frightening figures.

Theft is an unethical act and a violation of the law. At a time when our people are still encountering shortages and difficulties in their daily lives, theft is not only a crime against their lives, not only an economic crime, but, in one sense, it is also a political crime because it exacerbates the difficulties of our party, our state and our people. For this reason, one of the urgent requirements of our people is to put an end to theft and to prosecute cases of theft and thieves in a strict but just manner so that thieves have no place in our society and no place within the agencies of the party and state. Their place is within transformation camps and prisons. Anyone who, for any reason whatsoever, harbors or tolerates thieves must also be appropriately prosecuted.

Some persons think that the reason theft is on the rise is because our economic management and management of society are still weak. We do not deny this. If we knew how to provide better management, we could, of course, close many loopholes and prevent very many thefts. When thieves see that we have "tightly closed every door" and when they cannot easily steal something because the management mechanism and good management have erected countless "thresholds" that are difficult to pass through, they will surely tremble with fear. Conversely, as long as we allow money, property and materials to be loosely managed, as long as no one inspects or controls their use and as long as clear, mandatory regulations have not been adopted, not only thieves, but even persons who are not decadent but simply cannot control their greed will try to steal them. However, it is incorrect to only emphasize our shortcomings in economic management and social management, considering them to be the sole cause or the main cause of the theft of public property. We must realize that as law-abiding, sincere persons who know right from wrong, who know the difference between honor and shame, we cannot relax our standards, cannot reduce ourselves to the level of thieves in any circumstance, in any element of economic management in which a loophole might exist in one area or another and regardless of how much property the state or the collective have. Taking something that does not belong to you is an unethical act, the perpetrators of which have been shunned and despised by all persons of conscience and dignity since ancient times.

There are also those who think that theft is on the rise because of the difficulties and shortages in everyday life. This is not entirely accurate. True, we do face acute economic difficulties and acute difficulties in our daily lives; however, large numbers of our cadres and party members, large numbers of our people are overcoming these difficulties and are continuing to live wholesome and pure lives. Examples of honesty, of not touching one dong of money or grain of rice belonging to the collective or the state can be found in every sector and locality. In actuality, the "big time" thieves are not persons who are encountering difficulties or shortages. Actually, because of their insatiable greed, they want to live a life of luxury and quickly become rich by stealing property from the collective and state, by taking that which belongs to law-abiding persons.

The indifferent, irresponsible attitude that is taken toward theft is a matter deserving of thought. Every theft that occurs anywhere, be it minor or major in nature, is known by someone; there are party organizations, good cadres, good party members and good, honest and loyal persons everywhere. Their numbers are large and the number of thieves is small. Therefore, why have we not been able to stamp out theft? The answer lies in our indifferent, irresponsible attitude. Some persons think that because the property of the state and the collective belongs to everyone, no harm is done if only a small amount of it is lost (but when a small amount of their personal property is lost, these very same persons are upset to the point where they cannot eat or sleep and go around complaining to anyone who will listen!). When they see theft occurring, this kind of thinking causes these persons to turn the other way and not become involved for fear of losing work, losing time, for fear of offending someone, for fear of retaliation. When they notice that there are loopholes in management that are being taken advantage of by decadent persons, they do not give attention to closing them, rather, they consider the whole thing to be "an exercise in futility!" Some persons in charge do not keep abreast of the situation, are gullible and allow subordinate cadres and personnel to "pull the wool over their eyes," even to the point where they protect persons who violate the law even when the theft of property is as clear as daylight. On the other hand, some cases of theft that have been reported or solved have not been prosecuted in a strict or timely fashion; persons who have uncovered these cases of theft and waged a determined struggle against them have not been protected, etc. This situation simply improves the conditions for the attitude of indifference and irresponsibility to spread.

The system that we are building today and the material-technical bases and wealth that we have today are the products of the labor, the sweat and blood of all the people, including countless persons who have sacrificed their lives. To allow these products to be lost and gradually find their way into the pockets of dishonest persons is something that no one wants. Moreover, the property that we hold in common includes the personal property of each of us. Maintaining the property of the collective and the state means maintaining it for oneself, for one's compatriots, for one's comrades and for one's children, maintaining it for today and tomorrow. This is an obligation which every person of conscience is determined to fulfill, regardless of the hardships and sacrifices involved. Those who are cowardly, timid and afraid to struggle cannot help but feel ashamed when they recall Dinh Trong Lich,

Nguyen Thi Minh, Nguyen Tai Hai, Nguyen Thai Binh and the scores of other persons who set examples in fighting negative phenomena. To sympathize with others when they have lost something is a common feeling but, to revolutionaries, there is a higher ethic, the ethic of truly feeling unhappy, truly feeling pain when public property of the state or the collective is lost. If you do not feel this unhappiness, if you do not feel this pain, if you are indifferent in the face of every loss of public property, you should carefully re-examine yourself to determine whether you still have the qualities and sentiments needed to be a party member!

In the fight against theft, we should not consider petty theft to be something that is not dangerous. A farmer who steals a few kilograms of paddy from the cooperative, a worker who steals a bar of soap or tube of toothpaste from his factory, a state store worker who swipes a little merchandise and so forth do not do much harm. However, such acts will corrupt them. Once a theft has been pulled off without a hitch, it is very easy to commit another one. A person who steals an egg might steal a chicken and then a cow; such is the logic of life. A person who gradually loses his good qualities and whose moral decline spreads and grows will someday become a danger to society. Moreover, all socialist property, regardless of how insignificant it might be, is sacred and inviolable. If we tolerate petty theft, if we allow everyone to take a little each day, the combined loss to the economy will be significant.

If we do not wipe out theft, we cannot develop the economy well, cannot improve the living conditions of the people, cannot mold the new man and cannot make the organizations of the party and the agencies of the state truly wholesome. The question thus becomes: can we wipe out theft? The answer is clear: theft will continue to be rampant in every sector and at every place where economic management and social management are lax, the discipline of the party is lax, the laws of the state are lax and an attitude of indifference and irresponsibility exists. Conversely, if we are fully determined and brave, if we take organizational and management measures to combat theft in a high spirit of responsibility and if we know how to generate determined, strong public opinion against theft, we will surely effectively repulse theft. This is something that can be confirmed at those places at which the struggle against negative phenomena has been properly oriented.

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## THE INTRODUCTION OF VIETNAM'S MARXIST-LENINIST LINE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES THROUGH FOREIGN LANGUAGE BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 55-56, 68

[Article by Dich Van]

[Text] This year, Ngoai Van Publishing House is 25 years old. As a general publishing house that has the task of introducing every aspect of the revolution, the people and the socialist system of Vietnam, Ngoai Van Publishing House has made efforts over the past quarter century to reflect the Marxist-Leninist line of Vietnam. This has been done by means of books (in English, French, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, the international language and so forth) and through NGHIEN CUU VIET-NAM Journal (English and French), TIN VIET-NAM Journal (published between 1970 and 1978 in English and French) and VIET-NAM TIEN BUOC Journal (published between 1956 and 1958 in English, French and the international language), which have been distributed to roughly 100 countries in the world.

The August Revolution, the victory of Dien Bien Phu and the liberation of Saigon earned for Vietnam a special position in the world, especially within the third world. Other people want to learn how a former colony led by a communist party triumphed over colonialism, both old and new, and want to learn about our line on building the country. Mr. Maligay, a Senagalese author, has said: "We closely follow very many of the developments in your country because they are very useful to us in our struggle against imperialism." Through the publishing of works in foreign languages, the Sri Lanka All-Peasant Congress concluded: "We feel that Vietnam is a great source of honor to the socialist camp."

As regards the general line and the political line of our party, Ngoai Van Publishing House has disseminated all the major documents of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Party Congresses as well as the major works of our leaders (President Ho, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Van Tien Dung and so forth). An American publishing house has reprinted the major portion of the English version of "The Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh." The French version of "Advancing Under the Banner of the Party" (the title of the foreign language version has been changed to: "The Vietnamese Revolution, Projections and Prospects") by Le Duan has been translated into Italian and distributed to all

basic party chapters. The theoretical works by Truong Chinh, especially those dealing with the revolution and the war of resistance, have been highly evaluated. A number of leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution have told us that they studied two books published by our Ngoai Van Publishing House when establishing the revolutionary line in their country.

One task of TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU VIET-NAM (Etudes Vietnamiennes) is to explain and present the lines of the party as they are applied in a number of important fields. The journal, which has been in publication for 18 years, consists of 70 editions, each of which deals with one issue. Allow me to cite a few examples. The line on the national-democratic revolution was explained and defined in detail in nearly 20 special editions entitled "The Pages of History from 1945 to 1954," "The South Vietnam Papers," "The Basic Issues of Vietnam and Indochina," "Face to Face with U.S. Military Forces" and so forth. The French newspaper FORUM OF NATIONS evaluated the editions dealing with the resistance against the United States as follows: "This is a small and very valuable book on history and war as seen from the point of view of Hanoi and the Front, one that comes at a time when the only published information in the West is in the form of communiques from the United States or Saigon." Mr. D. Cardinas in Peru has organized the reading of the journal among progressive professors, especially the editions dealing with neo-colonialism, because the Vietnamese revolution is "a lesson to the nations of Latin America." The socialist revolution has been discussed in several dozen editions of the journal dealing with socialist construction, the economy, the culture and society. A minister in Guinea reads the journal in order to study many of the issues of Vietnam that are similar to those faced in his country. Professor Tooc-bi-oc-xon [Vietnamese phonetics] has reported that in Sweden "we have successfully introduced the education, public health and culture of Vietnam to persons who do not like to listen to politics and we have developed within them a good political attitude toward Vietnam. The issues of NGHIEN CUU VIET-NAM that deal with education are widely used as study material in the colleges. The editions on public health have also been very useful." A number of special editions on fighting narcotic addiction in Vietnam have been translated by a Mexican journal into Spanish and disseminated. Our embassy in Mexico has received letters from readers asking for permission to go to Vietnam in order to undergo treatment by the method we employ. After reading the special editions on the ethnic minorities in Vietnam, two French readers, Raul and Lora Ma-kri-ong [Vietnamese phonetics], commented: "We are in complete agreement with the journal's humanitarian policy." The German JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY once dedicated eight pages to analyzing the special edition on Catholicism in Vietnam and concluded: "This journal should be widely disseminated to readers (German) in order to support the dialogue between Marxists and Catholics in the German Democratic Republic, even though the present and historic circumstances of Vietnam are quite different, and in order to gain an understanding of the issues Vietnam faces today and will face tomorrow."

The experiences of Vietnam have not only been of value in the North-South dialogue, but have also competently supported the South-South dialogue among the developing countries. Mr. E-lai-di [Vietnamese phonetics], an Algerian college professor in the social sciences, reads TAP CHI NGHIEN CUU VIET-NAM because "the Vietnam experience has had my full attention for many years."

The Italian journal MARXIST CRITICISM keeps abreast of publications on "issues pertaining to the colonial revolution through the extraordinary experiences of Vietnam." In order to disseminate the experiences of Vietnam in a systematic manner, Ngoai Van Publishing House has been publishing a collection of books entitled "The Vietnam Experience"; three or four volumes are published each year, each of which deals with one issue in a detailed, systematic manner, analyzing both strengths and weaknesses. The first several volumes have dealt with fighting illiteracy, land reform, kindergarten education and folk literature.

The general line on literature and culture--the inheritance and development of our literary and cultural traditions--is very clearly explained in "Selected Literary Works of Vietnam" published in French and English(four volumes, 2,200 pages). According to the American journalist R. French, "this valuable collection of books...fills in a lamentable gap in our knowledge of eastern literature... All of the powers that have invaded Vietnam down through the centuries, including our own century, have ultimately failed to achieve success in their effort to conquer or assimilate the nation of Vietnam, destroy Vietnamese culture and replace it with their own culture."

In order to reduce its expenses and effectively introduce the line of the Vietnamese revolution to foreign countries, Ngoai Van Publishing House has also collaborated with foreign publishing houses to publish books in their language, for example, it has collaborated with the Soviet Union to publish such Vietnamese books as "The Land of Uncle Ho," "The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh and Africa"; collaborated with India to republish "The History of Vietnam"(in English); collaborated with the GDR to print books on Vietnam with photographs; collaborated with Japan to print "Children's Stories"; and collaborated with Italy, West Germany, Mexico and other countries to publish books on contemporary issues(the Chinese aggressors, Kampuchea and so forth).

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## THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S MILITARY STRATEGY OF 'DIRECT CONFRONTATION'

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 57-61

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] The Reagan administration has adopted a new military strategy, one called the "direct confrontation" strategy. This is the fourth military strategy adopted by the United States in the slightly more than three decades since 1950: there was the "massive retaliation" strategy of the Eisenhower administration, the "flexible response" strategy of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and the "real deterrent" strategy of the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations.

The basic element of the new "direct confrontation" military strategy is that the United States must "win military superiority" by the end of the 20th Century. The measures for achieving this goal are to intensify the arms race, especially in the field of strategic nuclear weapons; "directly confront" the Soviet Union and the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world; and impose U.S. military control everywhere and at all times by means of whatever type of war is required, including nuclear war.

The United States advocates using "military power" to "directly confront" the Soviet Union and the world revolution. Weinberger, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, has frequently repeated that "we cannot exclude any area," "the interests of the United States are global in nature, consequently, the military line of the United States must also be global in nature."

At the start of the 1960's, President Kennedy declared that the United States was prepared to use military power to "help its allies and friends at any time and at any place in the world." However, the Washington administrations from Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson to Nixon, Ford and Carter selected a number of "key" regions and called them regions in which the United States has "vital interests." Back then, western Europe, the Middle East and Latin America were considered to be the regions in which the United States had permanent "vital interests." Vietnam and the Indochina peninsula had a "special position" on this list under the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations.

Today, by adopting the viewpoint of global "direct confrontation," the Reagan administration openly shows that it considers the entire world to be "a battleground" of the United States. The Washington that arrogantly appointed itself "international gendarme" must now "rope off" the entire world, not just define "key" regions as it did before.

The "national defense guidelines for fiscal years 1984-1988," which were approved by President Reagan on 21 May 1982, clearly state: "A war against the Soviet Union will surely be 'global' in scale. The United States must be able to simultaneously fight the Soviet Union on many battlefields. Until it knows how long such a conflict will last and the nature of the weapons used in it (conventional weapons as well as nuclear weapons), the United States must be prepared to the point that it can win victory in a long war of any type and must be more fully equipped than it is now"(based on an article by Michael Clark of the Washington Institute of Policy Studies printed in the French newspaper LE MONDE, No 9-1982).

U.S. military circles are praising the "flexibility" of Reagan's global "direct confrontation" strategic "initiative." According to them, because they no longer have fixed "key" regions, the ruling circles in Washington are "free," depending upon the specific circumstances and conditions at each place and time at "hotpoints," to decide whether or not to call these places "places at which the United States has vital interests" and whether or not to use this as an excuse for intervention by one form or another as Washington did when the Malvinas incident broke out in South America and the Lebanon incident broke out in the Middle East.

According to U.S. military circles, on the basis of this "global" viewpoint, when the "vital interests" of the United States are "challenged" in a region in which the United States faces "formidable" opposition and is not in a favorable position, it can place responsibility upon the Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces of the world in order to carry out military "retaliation."

This extremely bellicose strategic viewpoint of Reagan proves that the U.S. imperialists are preparing to intervene and unleash war everywhere. This poses a danger and a threat to all mankind.

#### The Nuclear "Direct Confrontation" Viewpoint

The "new" point in the new military strategy lies in the special meaning of the term "direct." According to the Reagan administration, blocking the advance of the three revolutionary currents in the world in any country or at any point in time is, in essence, "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union. The Reagan administration is trying to give itself an "anti-Soviet" label with a view toward camouflaging the counter-revolutionary activities of the United States.

On the basis of this "direct confrontation" argument, the Reagan administration has placed U.S. armed forces in a state of readiness to wage



wars of the U.S. type: an "anti-insurgency" war, a limited war, a conventional war, a "tactical" nuclear war and a "strategic" nuclear war within the framework of "confrontation" with the Soviet Union.

The other side of this "direct confrontation" argument is a war with the Soviet Union itself, which is the primary war target of the United States. Here, the White House and the Pentagon have a choice to make: can NATO win victory in war over the Warsaw Pact by means of conventional weapons alone or are nuclear weapons necessary as well?

U.S. military circles have concluded that in view of the balance of conventional forces that exist now and will exist at the end of the 20th Century, NATO cannot win victory merely by means of conventional weapons, even though the United States is constantly pressuring the countries within NATO to increase their military budgets by more than 3 percent per annum.

Thus, in order to "crush" the Warsaw Pact, as is Reagan's insane ambition, there is only one option remaining, namely, to use conventional weapons and make pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons. Reagan has publicly stated that he leans toward this option.

This is a new, special "point," is a "substantive" turning point in the modification of U.S. military strategy under the various Washington administrations since the early 1950's.

All U.S. strategists that have served the various Washington administrations acknowledge that ever since the United States lost its nuclear superiority, any strategic nuclear war launched by the United States would mean that the United States would experience strategic "nuclear retaliation" by the opposition. The pre-emptive use of tactical nuclear weapons also poses the danger of spreading into a strategic nuclear war. In actuality, however, the official "nuclear policy" of the United States from the administration of Truman to the administration of Reagan has been the "pre-emptive use" of nuclear weapons. President Truman himself laid the premise for this policy when he ordered the U.S. Air Force to drop the first two atomic bombs that obliterated the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, all U.S. presidents from Eisenhower to Carter quietly and secretly advocated the "pre-emptive use" of the various types of nuclear weapons of the United States. In the early 1980's, Reagan has taken the strategic "initiative" of raising the U.S. policy of the "pre-emptive use" of nuclear weapons to the position of a "military theory" and has frantically strengthened their strategic nuclear forces with a view toward making the United States fully capable of making "pre-emptive use" of nuclear weapons in practice.

On 17 October 1981, on the basis of this nuclear "direct confrontation" strategy, Reagan declared to journalists: "I foresee the possibility of a conflict involving tactical nuclear weapons on the European battlefield that does not lead to a confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States."

The word "foresee" spoken by Reagan is nothing more than diplomatic language for "pre-emptive use." It is precisely on the basis of this publicly

announced theory on the "limited pre-emptive use" of nuclear weapons that the Reagan administration is accelerating the production of the winged "cruise" missile and urgently promoting the deployment of 572 medium-range Pershing II and winged cruise missiles in a number of western European countries beginning in 1983.

The "limited" nuclear war which Reagan has publicly announced that the United States is ready to launch first would, of course, be under the umbrella of "deterrence" of a "total" nuclear war fought by means of strategic nuclear weapons deployed within the United States as well as at many U.S. military bases overseas, in the oceans and even in space.

Above everything else, the "limited" nuclear war which Reagan "foresees" in Europe is only "limited" with respect to the United States in accordance with the subjective desires of Washington, that is, the territory of the United States is placed outside the scope of nuclear warfare. However, it is "total" in nature to the countries of Europe because the nuclear warheads that are called "tactical," which have an explosive power in the tens and hundreds of kilotons and of which more than 7,000 units are being stored by the United States in western Europe, are enough to totally destroy such countries as Holland, Belgium and Denmark and the densely populated industrial zones and major cities of Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, etc. On the other hand, the United States has publicly declared its readiness to make "pre-emptive use" of strategic nuclear weapons, that is, its readiness to launch a global "total" nuclear war. In actuality, together with the development of medium-range nuclear weapons of various types, the Reagan administration is making the manufacture of new generations of strategic nuclear weapons, from the mobile, inter-continental MX missile and the B-1 strategic bomber to the Trident II nuclear submarine armed with strategic missiles, the "focal point" of the present arms race of the United States.

The artificial distinction between the two types of nuclear war, "limited" and "total," and between the two types of nuclear weapons, "tactical" and "strategic," that Reagan has made cannot disorient, deceive or dampen the movement of the American people and the people of the world who are waging an intense struggle against the schemes and acts of the Reagan administration that are pushing mankind to the brink of nuclear war.

#### Some Strategic Measures

In order to achieve the goal of "winning military superiority" over the Soviet Union by the final years of this century, the Reagan administration advocates sharp increases in the military budget. During the 20 years from 1960 to 1980, the U.S. military budget constantly increased each year: 1960: 41.6 billion dollars; 1965: 50.9 billion dollars; 1970: 76.8 billion dollars; 1975: 87.9 billion dollars; and 1980: 142.2 billion dollars.

However, in 1981, the Reagan administration announced the 1982-1986 five year military program of the United States, a program that calls for projected expenditures of 1.5 trillion dollars. The 1983 military budget has risen to

260 billion dollars and, at this rate of increase, the figure of 342.7 billion dollars projects for 1986 will surely be surpassed by the very persons that proposed it.

According to calculations made by western strategists, military expenditures by the United States accounted for 5.2 percent of the U.S. gross national product in 1980 and will increase to 6.6 percent in 1985 and 10 percent in 1990. The military budget of the United States will increase from 24.3 percent of the budget of the federal government in 1980 to 36 percent in 1985.

The strategic measure of bringing about a "leap forward" in the military budget is the foundation for a "leap forward" in "military power," primarily a leap forward in strategic nuclear forces. The Pentagon has projected that, by 1990, it will have completed modernizing the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force by means of ultra-modern weapons with a view toward increasing the fighting strength and the mobility of these services.

The major portion of the military budget is dedicated to improving their strategic nuclear forces, such as the manufacture of 100 B-1b (that is, improved B-1's) strategic bombers at a cost of more than 20 billion dollars; building a system of mobile, inter-continental missiles on railroad tracks at an initial estimated cost of 34 billion dollars; and gradually replacing the 40 nuclear powered submarines armed with Polaris and Poseidon strategic missiles with the new Trident II missile carrying submarine at a cost of approximately 2 billion dollars apiece.

The Reagan administration has decided to accelerate the production of the Pershing II intermediate range missiles and the cruise winged missiles, increasing the range of this latter type to 2,400 kilometers. The Reagan administration has also decided to produce the nitron bomb.

Another strategic measure is the expansion of the system of U.S. military bases overseas. At present, the United States has more than 1,500 military bases and projects in more than 32 foreign countries. More than one-half million U.S. troops are permanently stationed at these bases and projects. The United States is making every effort to establish a new ring of military bases around the Middle East, Persian Gulf consisting of five air bases in Egypt, three air bases in Oman, one air base and one naval base in Somalia, one air base in Saudi Arabia, three military bases and one military port in Kenya and one airfield and one military port in Bahrain.

With these new military bases together with the establishment of the 5th Fleet in the Indian Ocean and the more than 200,000 man rapid deployment force, the Reagan administration has publicly expressed its ambition to "regain control" of the seas and serve as "fireman" "at any time and at any place" in the world.

In its military strategy of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union, Washington considers China to be a very important factor. In the annual report sent to the U.S. Congress on 8 February 1982, Weinberger, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, emphasized the unity between "the interests and tradition of U.S. commitments in this region (Asia and the Pacific) and the

security concerns of the People's Republic of China, a country that shares the same interests and common goals as the United States."

In the strategy of "winning military superiority" over the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration, for the purpose of attacking the revolutionary forces of the world, is continuing to make full use of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles as their assault force.

The above mentioned primary elements of the "direct confrontation" military strategy of the United States indicate the very dangerous nature of the arms race policy, which is a euphemism for nuclear war, that the Reagan administration is pursuing. Peace and security in the world are being seriously threatened by the U.S. imperialists. The people of the world cannot relax their vigilance for one moment.

On the other hand, the "direct confrontation" road will not be a smooth road to the ones who chose it. The struggle being waged by the American people and the people of the world against the nuclear arms race policy of Reagan developed to an unprecedented degree in 1982. In Washington itself, more than 1 million Americans demonstrated against the nuclear war policy of the United States. Meanwhile, the heavy burden of military expenditures is having an increasingly strong impact upon the U.S. economy, which finds itself in a more desperate situation with each passing day. In September, 1982, unemployment in the United States reached a record level of 11.3 million persons, which does not include the tens of millions of semi-unemployed persons. As of August 1982, the federal government budget deficit had risen to 108.95 billion dollars, that is, 59 billion dollars more than first projected. The national debt has risen to 1.11 trillion dollars.

As a result of scheming to "sow the nuclear winds" in the world, the Reagan administration must "reap the storm." This storm is pushing the United States even more deeply into a comprehensive crisis from which it cannot escape.

Finally, it must be especially emphasized that the "direct confrontation" line will not yield anything good for the U.S. imperialists. Because, at present, the national defense strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community is more powerful than ever before. Those who are advocating and eagerly pursuing this perilous course must realize this fact.

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NATIONAL TRADITION: ALL THE PEOPLE ARE SOLDIERS, THE ENTIRE COUNTRY JOINS EFFORTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ENEMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 62-68

[Article Le Dinh Sy]

[Text] Summarizing the three wars of resistance against the Nguyen aggressor army, Tran Quoc Tuan cited one important reason for the victories we won then as "the king and his subjects were united as one, brothers were in harmony, the country joined efforts and the enemy captured themselves." (1) The book "Annam Chi Luoc" also records the fact that "all the people fought the enemy" during the Tran Dynasty. And, the historian Phan Huy Chu wrote in his work: "Everyone was a soldier during the Tran Dynasty, which is why they were able to defeat a savage enemy and strengthen the country's position." (2) All the people are soldiers, the entire country joins efforts in fighting the enemy, this is the general historic experience that resulted from the strategic viewpoints of major significance contained with the body of military knowledge manifested not only during the Tran Dynasty, but also throughout our people's entire history of struggling to defend the country.

In our country, the strength that we employ to defend the country is not merely the strength of a state, it is the strength of an entire country. Imbued with this viewpoint, our forefathers, when organizing forces to fight the enemy or defend the country, did not rely solely upon the forces of the standing army, but also knew how to rely upon "the entire country to fight the enemy."

The strategy of "the entire country joining efforts" and "all the people fighting the enemy" also has its origin in the objective requirements of our nation's wars against foreign aggression. Our country is not large, our population is not large, our material resources have always been limited and our standing army has never been large. However, our enemies have always come from large countries with large populations, have possessed much military and economic potential and have always relied upon their large number of troops and their extensive experience in war to conquer us. If, in the face of such a comparison of forces, we simply relied upon the forces of our army, we would

surely be unable to win victory over the enemy. To win victory over a large and ruthless enemy force, we have had to rely upon the strength of the entire country and mobilize all the people to fight the enemy.

In the various stages of history, all our forefathers clearly recognized the role played by all the people fighting the enemy and defending the country. The viewpoint that "the people are the foundation of a prosperous and strong country" was expressed in many dynasties. Therefore, in order to mobilize this potential strength, our forefathers implemented many policies designed to provide the people with "security and comfort." Ly Thuong Kiet "considered insuring that the people are well fed to be his pledge to the people"; Tran Quoc Tuan advocated "using the strength of the people as our deep, strong roots." At the start of the Le Dynasty, the Imperial Court issued a decree on "respecting the strength of the people" and Nguyen Trai maintained that "charity and justice reside in the peace and security of the people." In the 18th Century, Nguyen Hue took many steps to make "the country prosperous and the army strong." It was his policy to "provide the people with peace and security, with fields to till...", "open the borders and open markets so that goods that are constantly backlogged can be put to use to the benefit of the people." All of the progressive feudal dynasties in our country gave their attention to "building and tapping the strength of the people and issued imperial orders that encouraged agriculture or the construction of water conservancy projects or sometimes reduced land rents, partially for the purpose of developing the economy and partially for the purpose of reconciling class antagonisms and strengthening the unity of the various nationalities within the country as well as the unity between the Imperial Court and the citizenry.

On the other hand, because we were constantly threatened with aggression by a cruel enemy, all of the feudal dynasties concerned themselves with building the national defense potentials of the country. The leaders of the state during each stage of history looked for every way to build large, strong military forces and one of the requirements they faced was how to establish a manpower balance between building and defending the country in peace time and rapidly mobilize all the people to participate in the fight against the aggressors in time of war. This was the origin of the thinking "making soldiers of all the people" that was implemented during the various feudal dynasties in our country.

In the 10th Century, the Dinh and Le state administrations organized military forces in "local armies." The military rolls of the country showed that an army of 1 million men existed; however, in actuality, the army organization was nothing more than a "table of organization," that is, in peace time, practically all soldiers remained at home working but, in time of war, they were mobilized into the pre-established units. This was the premise, the foundation of the national policy during the Ly and Tran Dynasties of "the soldier residing in the serf." According to the historian Ngo Thi Si, "back then, the soldier and the serf were one and the same; when a national defense matter arose, serfs were called into the army; once the matter had been completed, they disbanded and returned to work their fields." (3) This was a measure that achieved a certain level of success in making soldiers of all the people and gaining the participation of all the people in military training.

The effect of this policy was clearly evident in the first war of resistance against the Tong aggressor army (981).

In the Ly-Tran stage, the need to resist foreign aggression was extremely urgent. At that time, the country of Dai Viet was being threatened by large and cruel aggressor powers. To meet this requirement, the House of Ly as well as the House of Tran upheld the traditions of the nation and rapidly formulated and implemented important plans on building and defending the country.

The country of Dai Viet built its national armed forces under the guideline of all the people serving as soldiers, which was embodied in the "soldier resides in the serf" policy. From the Ly Dynasty to the Tran Dynasty, this policy was implemented as fully as possible in order to maintain the coordination between building and defending the country, between the labor force and the armed forces, between financial and military matters.

The state attached very much importance to establishing census files and managing the citizens of the country. On the basis of these census files, the names of all citizens of military age were recorded in the "military service book"; these citizens consisted of two types: young men between the ages of 18 and 20 and men between the ages of 21 and 60. They were the source of soldiers, were the base for recruiting and mobilizing troops.

Each year, the Imperial Court promulgated a decree on "recruiting citizens as soldiers" on a nationwide scale. The "citizen-soldier" policy stipulated that every citizen had the obligation to join the army and defend the country; this policy was a concrete manifestation of the thinking of "making soldiers of citizens" and was a "military service" system of all the people, one based on the patriotism of the people and their love of their village. Periodically, the state "ordered the induction of able-bodied males" and selected young, healthy men to replace soldiers who had become old and frail; the remaining persons whose names appeared on the "military service rolls" remained at home working. They "were called upon when defense needs arose and returned to their fields once these needs had been met" and provided local security. This was the essence of the peace time military recruiting system and the policy of mobilizing citizen-soldiers in time of war of the Ly-Tran state administrations and represented the best methods for making soldiers of all the people.

The "soldier resides in the serf" policy also provided for the rotation of soldiers within the army, for soldiers to take one another's place within the army or return to production. That is, in peace time, soldiers (with the exception of those who were protecting the capital) replaced one another; half of them remained in the army to provide security and engage in training while the other half returned to production. When war broke out, all of them were "called up and put under the command of generals" for combat.

The policy of building armed forces under the guideline "the soldier resides in the serf" met both "national construction" and "national defense" needs and maintained a balance between "military matters" and "matters agricultural," between the economy and the military. The historian Ngo Si Lien has observed



that "no dynasty made the country as strong as the Ly Dynasty did"; when researching the military service policy of the Tran Dynasty, Phan Huy Chu concluded: "Military service was given a proper position," that is, "in peace time, soldiers were sent back to their fields; when war broke out, everyone was called back into the army." Therefore, they had "all the troops they needed, the cost of maintaining the army was not high and these soldiers fought the enemy with even greater enthusiasm." "The feats of arms that they recorded by crushing the Chiem Army and defeating the Tong Army (during the Ly Dynasty) and the brilliant achievement of twice defeating the Nguyen Army (during the Tran Dynasty) are enough to show just how powerful the military forces of the two dynasties were."(4)

Thus, in military terms, the "soldier resides in the serf" policy of the Ly and Tran Dynasties was a policy that placed soldiers in the countryside, that considered farmers to be the source of soldiers, considered every citizen to be a soldier, considered every village to be a fortress fighting the enemy; under this policy, the entire country became a village-country battle position within a war waged by all the people. In other words, it was the policy of "making soldiers of all the people," "the people are the army" and "all the people are soldiers" based on the thinking "all the people own the country, all the people have an obligation to it," which was the foundation underlying the buildup of militia units, reserve forces and standing armies within the country.

"Sending soldiers back to the countryside" in peace time, where they once again became farmers and engaged in military training while carrying out production, and making soldiers of all the people in time of war, this was a policy for the buildup of national military forces that was consistent with the law of "building the country in conjunction with defending it," of building the country and fighting the enemy under the circumstances of our country, a small country with a decentralized agricultural economy that has always faced the threat of aggression by large reactionary powers possessing military superiority. Under this form of organization, the state was able to constantly maintain a large work force, reduce military expenditures and provide military training to practically all able-bodied youths on a rotating basis, consequently, the reserve forces were powerful and the standing army always had the forces needed to provide security and be ready to deal with every scheme and action of the enemy. When the country was at peace, there was a suitable division of labor between the army and the people, between the economy and the military; when war broke out, the citizenry rapidly and easily coordinated with the army to become a strong, large and exhaustible force, thereby enabling us to achieve absolute superiority, which the enemy could not achieve and could not conquer.

As a result of this creative method of organization, the House of Ly was able to mobilize large numbers of the people for the war of resistance and recorded many feats of arms in "defeating the Tong and pacifying the Chiem," thereby maintaining our national independence. Even Chinese historians have expressed admiration: (the masses) joined the army in droves and "throughout the country of Giao Chi, five persons within a family of 6 joined the army, with the only person remaining behind being someone who could not walk."(5) Under the Tran Dynasty, the art of mobilizing and organizing all the people to serve



as soldiers and participate in the fight against the enemy reached a new level of development. In the space of only 30 years (1258-1288), the army and people of Dai Viet won very glorious victories over all three wars of aggression waged by the Nguyen Army, the famous well-trained army of the most powerful and cruelest imperialist of that time. In normal times, the House of Tran had a standing force of about 100,000 troops; however, when the most difficult and savage ever broke out, the Imperial Court mobilized 300,000 troops to fight under the unified command of the Resistance War Command. This did not include the more than 100,000 Hoan Dien troops in Thanh Hoa and Nghe Tinh who were not mobilized or the millions of militia forces in the villages. This was the result of the policy of "making soldiers of all the people," of all able-bodied youths joining the army when the enemy invades and of "the entire country preparing weapons" and was the result of responding to the appeal by the Imperial Court: "If invaded by the enemy, all districts of the country must fight to the death; if they do not have the strength to defeat the enemy, they may withdraw to the mountainous jungles but may not surrender."(6) When they entered Dai Viet, the well trained and cruel Nguyen aggressor army, although it had won victory at many other places, came up against an immovable wall consisting of our powerful army and the resistance war forces of the villages everywhere, was "unable to display its talents" and ultimately had to resign itself to defeat.

In the 18th Century, under Nguyen Hue's banner of national salvation, our people arose to topple domestic and foreign feudal groups and rapidly joined the army to fight the Man Thanh aggressors. The support and enthusiasm of the people participating in the fight against the enemy were the primary moving force behind the brilliant feats of arms recorded by the Tay Son Army: crushing the reactionary feudal powers, destroying the aggressor army of Siam in the South and driving the 290,000 Man Thanh aggressor troops from Bac Ha. These were the results of the hero Nguyen Hue's policy of "making soldiers of all the people" and mobilizing all the people to join in the fight against the enemy and defend their just cause. They were also the result of the measures taken by the leaders of the Tay Son movement to "turn all citizens into soldiers" and "turn the hamlets into units."(7) Because the masses were widely armed, because all the people were aware of their obligation to fight in defense of the country, because each citizen was a soldier and because each village became a combat unit, the entire country became one battle position in the fight against the enemy, when the Thanh Army invaded our country, although they advanced to the capital Thang Long and stationed their troops at a number of places, there were totally isolated and surrounded on all four sides. This provided favorable conditions for Quang Trung to move his troops close to the enemy without being noticed and launch surprise attacks from many different directions, attacks that cut the enemy to pieces.

In the various wars fought by our nation to defend the country, "all the people fight the enemy" has been a universal and increasingly evident phenomenon.

"When the enemy invades, even the women fight" is an ancient proverb. Examples of women sacrificing their lives in the defense of the country can be found in every dynasty. The two Trung Sisters and their women generals bravely sacrificed their lives in the resistance against the Dong Han

aggressor army. The Queen Mother Duong Van Nga and, after her, Mrs. Y Lan played a major role in the resistance against the Tong aggressors. Specific examples of the tradition of heroism on the part of women in the nation's struggle to defend the country were set by the mother of the country, the wife of the great tutor Tran Thu Do, in the resistance against the Nguyen and by the woman general Bui Thi Xuan, who commanded the Tay Son troops in the 18th Century.

Thanh Giong is the symbol of a Vietnamese in a war against aggression: at 3 years of age, he fought the enemy, fearing that he was late. In the war of resistance against the Nguyen, there were young generals, such as Tran Quoc Toan, who crushed the orange he was holding in his hand because he was angry that he was still too young to participate in drawing up the plan for fighting the enemy at Binh Than but who displayed great bravery when put in command of a prince's army in order to prevent Thoat Hoan from fleeing, a cause for which he bravely gave his life. There were also old generals, such as Tran Thu Do who, at 61 years of age, confidently replied to King Tran Thai Tong: "As long as my head has not been cut off, do not worry about me, excellency." And, in 1258, he fulfilled his role in helping the Tran king command the fight against the enemy. This is not to mention the tens of thousands of elders in the villages and hamlets of the various localities who, together with their grandchildren, studied the martial arts day after day and became skilled in the forging of daggers and the making of crossbows so that they could remain in their villages and fight and kill the enemy. The young and old joining forces to fight the enemy and defend the country is a widespread phenomenon in our country's history.

In the large contingent of soldiers fighting the aggressors were representatives of all nationalities, all strata of the nation, from all regions of the country. Participating in the fight against the Tong aggressors along with Ly Thuong Kiet, Hoang Chan and Chieu Van were Ton Dan, Hoang Kim Man, Thanh Canh Phuc and so forth, who were tribal chiefs. During the Tran Dynasty, there were, within the army, besides commanders from the aristocracy, such as Tran Quoc Tuan, Tran Khanh Du and so forth, common persons, such as Pham Ngu Lao, Yet Kieu and Da Tuong, who also fought the Nguyen Army; in addition to the main force armies of the Imperial Court, of the royal aristocracy of the House of Tran, there were armies of such ethnic minority generals as Nguyen Loc, Ha Dac, Ha Chuong, Ha Bong and so forth. And, the 18th Century hero "of the common man," Nguyen Hue, had the enthusiastic support of many patriotic scholars in the war of resistance, most notably Dr. Ngo Thi Nham and Nguyen Thiep, two famous scholars of that time. Whenever the "nation was at war," the aristocracy and the common people, the tillers of the soil and artisans, scholars and merchants, the ethnic Vietnamese, the Nuong, the Tay, the Thai and so forth, everyone arose to fight the enemy. The people wholeheartedly participated in the wars of resistance in large numbers, either by taking up arms and killing the enemy; forging weapons, preparing warsips or repairing roads and bridges, contributing grain and transporting supplies to the army; hiding food and sometimes even burning their crops, destroying their gardens and implementing the "deserted country" plan in order to prevent their rice, paddy and implements from falling into the hands of the enemy; or running into the forests, determined not to cooperate with the enemy, and employing many methods of fighting within their

villages and hamlets or in the mountainous forests to protect their native land.

Patriotism is the most important and the most profound sentiment of every strata of the Vietnamese, of every Vietnamese, old as well as young, male as well as female, past as well as present. Whenever the enemy has invaded the country, the appeal to save the country has exerted a sacred strength in mobilizing, urging and causing everyone to arise, to join efforts in protecting the fatherland. "All the people are soldiers" and "the entire country joins efforts to fight the enemy" are unique characteristics, are a long-standing tradition of our nation.

In our national history, any dynasty or leader of the state that has not recognized the role played by the people and has not mobilized and organized "all the people to fight the enemy" has not achieved success in the struggle to defend the country. The fact that Ho Quy Ly and Ho Han Thuong allowed the country to be lost aroused hatred on the part of each citizen of Dai Viet at that time. Because, although Ho Quy Ly was a patriot, although he was determined to fight the aggressors and although the House of Ho had a large, well armed army and strong fortresses, the mistake that they made concerning how the war of resistance was to be waged prevented them from mobilizing the fighting strength of all the people and this lack of a suitable strategy caused them to suffer bitter defeat.

Conversely, in the 13th Century, as mentioned above, the army and people of Dai Viet, under the leadership of the House of Tran, won brilliant victories in all three wars of resistance against the Nguyen. One strongpoint of the House of Tran was that they knew how to mobilize and organize the people not only when the country was at peace, but also when the country was at war and immediately after the victorious conclusion of a war. After winning victory over the Nguyen aggressor army, King Tran Nhan Tong intended to rebuild Thang Long into a magnificent city; Tran Quoc Tuan convinced the king otherwise saying: "The rebuilding of the city is not a very urgent matter. The urgent job that the Imperial Court must perform without delay is to comfort the people. In the more than 4 years that we were under enemy attack, virtually everything from the mountainous forests to our rice paddies was destroyed, yet, the people wholeheartedly supported the Imperial Court, contributed money and materiel, served as soldiers, paid their taxes and were a strong force enabling the Imperial Court to fight the enemy. Now that you have returned safely, the first thing you must do is to give immediate attention to those places that were destroyed. Relief must be provided depending upon the seriousness of the situation; those places that have suffered very heavy damage can be granted a waiver of taxes for a few years; this will inspire the people and cause them to support the Imperial Court even more. Our forefathers used to say 'the will of the masses is a solid wall' and it is this wall that must be immediately repaired. I implore you to give this your careful consideration." (8) Realizing that Tran Quoc Tuan was correct, King Tran Nhan Tong cancelled the reconstruction of Thang Long and granted a waiver of taxes to the people for 3 years. Later, when he was at death's door, Tran Quoc Tuan, in his testament, once again advised the Tran king: "Using the strength of the people as our deep, strong roots, this is the best policy for defending the country."

On the basis of this thinking, all the officials and the aristocracy of the House of Tran had firm confidence in the strength of the resistance war forces. This confidence was expressed in action, in combat and even in gestures of magnanimity in the face of the enemy. In the face of the insolent threat made by the Nguyen king to continue to attack and demolish the city of Thang Long, the Dai Viet historian Dao Tu Ky proudly said: "That city of Thang Long was nothing more than a small obstacle to guard against petty thieves, an obstacle that could be easily destroyed. But, to resist a foreign enemy who had been waiting to steal our entire country, we had a city that was as strong as a mountain, one that no enemy could destroy, namely, the strength of our people."(9)

In view of the fact that our country is not large, our population is not large and our army is not large but we have always had to deal with the schemes of annexation of large countries, sometimes the most powerful imperialists of the age, and frequently have had to fight aggressor armies many times larger and stronger than we, the strength that our nation has employed to fight the enemy and win victory has been the combined strength of the country, the strength of "all the people fighting the enemy." "All the people are soldiers" and "the entire country joins efforts to fight the enemy" are a secret of victory and a traditional experience in our nation's history of struggling to defend the country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Dai Viet su ky toan thu, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, Volume II, p 80.
2. Phan Huy Chu: "Lich trieu hien chuong loai chi;" Su Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1961, Volume IV, p 6.
3. Ibid., p 4.
4. Ibid., p 3.
5. Ly Dao: "Tuc tu tri thong giam truong bien," printing of Dam Chung Lan, Book 275, in Chinese.
6. Tong Liem: "Nguyen su," Ban suc an bach nap, Thuong vu an thu quan, Book 209, p 76, in Chinese.
7. "Dai Nam thuc luc chinh bien, de nhat ky 1," Su Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume II, p 320.
8. "Long thanh dat su" from Pham Ngoc Phung's "To tien ta danh giac," Quan Giai Phong Publishing House, Saigon, 1975.
9. Ibid.

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COMMENTARY: MEMORIAL TO A DEFEAT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 82 pp 69-70

[Commentary by Phuong Son]

[Text] Many strange things happen in the United States. The most recent has been the building of a memorial to a defeat.

Many countries have constructed memorials to those persons who have given their lives in war. However, people ordinarily build memorials to victories. The United States is the only country so far to build a memorial to a defeat.

Ten years after being forced to sign the Paris Agreement recognizing the independence and unity of Vietnam, America has constructed a memorial to those Americans who died in Vietnam, died, as the American press has stated, "in the only war America has ever lost." On the black marble wall of this memorial are carved the 57,692 names of the Americans who were used as cannon fodder by the U.S. government and lost their lives in Vietnam.

Why have the U.S. authorities advocated the construction of this memorial to the defeat in Vietnam? U.S. President Reagan recently adopted a new military strategy, the strategy of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union and the three revolutionary currents in the world. He needs much cannon fodder to implement this military strategy. However, the America people, especially American youths, who have not yet gotten over the shock of being defeated in Vietnam, have displayed indifference toward Mr. Reagan's military strategy. Therefore, he immediately developed a good plan. Together with spending 1.6 trillion dollars on the production of weapons of mass murder, he has spent several million dollars to construct "the memorial to the Vietnam veterans" in order to stimulate the bellicose spirit among the American people, especially among American youths. By building this memorial, U.S. authorities are pretending to express gratitude to those who "gave their lives to the United States." This gratitude is clearly lacking in the United States today because all U.S. veterans who returned from Vietnam realize, as the U.S. press has reported, that "no one welcomed them home when they returned." American society has never compensated U.S. veterans who lost an arm or a leg in the Vietnam war or whose bodies are being destroyed by the long-term effects of agent orange herbicide.

U.S. ruling circles have constructed the memorial to the defeat in Vietnam for the purpose of stimulating "the spirit of revenge" against Vietnam in a vain attempt to, in this manner, "reconcile American society" and "unite America behind the President."

U.S. ruling circles have pinned very many hopes on the impact of this memorial. However, since it was constructed and dedicated, the memorial to the defeat in Vietnam has had consequences not foreseen by U.S. ruling circles.

As did the war in Vietnam, the memorial to the Vietnam war is dividing the United States. American newspapers have concluded that it "will not heal the divisions over Vietnam."

On the occasion of the dedication of the memorial, the WASHINGTON POST Newspaper in its 9 November 1982 edition reminded readers of the impact of the Vietnam war upon the United States: "It became the overriding concern of the United States. It changed our old concepts of ourselves and our country and destroyed the center of American life year after year."

On 11 November 1982, the NEW YORK TIMES printed an editorial confirming that the names of the American soldiers who died in Vietnam carved on the memorial "caused us to recall the historic crisis of power that Vietnam caused U.S. society to experience."

On 9 November 1982, the WASHINGTON POST wrote: "The memorial, as well as everything that has anything to do with Vietnam, has sharpened the ugly debate and ushered in a new phase of the curse."

The West German newspaper THE FRANKFORT TIMES wrote on 9 November 1982: "The memorial to U.S. veterans of Vietnam is stirring U.S. public opinion." Concerning the debate in the United States over this memorial, this newspaper wrote that the persons in the United States who supported the war in Vietnam considered it to be a time of heroism while those who opposed the war in Vietnam consider it to be a war that used and deceived American youth.

The early November, 1982 edition of MIRROR Magazine published in West German wrote: "As did the Vietnam war, a memorial to this war is now dividing the American people."

Since the day that this memorial to the defeat in Vietnam was erected in the United States, many American citizens have gone to the wall of the memorial to try to read the names of their relatives. They search and search for the names of their relatives but do not find them, even though their relatives did die in the Vietnam war. The list of American soldiers who died in battle in the Vietnam war that has been announced by the U.S. government and engraved on the memorial is much shorter than the actual list of Americans who lost their lives on the Vietnam battlefield. The deception employed by the U.S. authorities to reduce the loss of human life in the Vietnam war has been exposed by the building of this memorial.

U.S. ruling circles constructed this memorial with a view toward encouraging American youths to charge headlong into an unconditional war; however, on 11

November 1982, the NEW YORK TIMES again wrote: "Let this memorial be an indication of America's commitment to never unconditionally send youths to war again."

On 11 November 1982, a U.S. Navy veteran, Jim Mahoney, walked along this memorial carrying a placard which read: "No more wars, no more lies, no more stone memorials!"

American veterans call this memorial the "collective grave" of the U.S. veterans of the Vietnam war.

American ruling circles constructed this memorial to the American soldiers who lost their lives in the Vietnam war in order to recruit many American youths to serve as cannon fodder for them. However, the consequences of the construction of this memorial are totally contrary to the goal that they set.

Clearly, a memorial to defeat which has the purpose of commemorating an unjust war can only yield a defeatist spirit for another unjust war.

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END